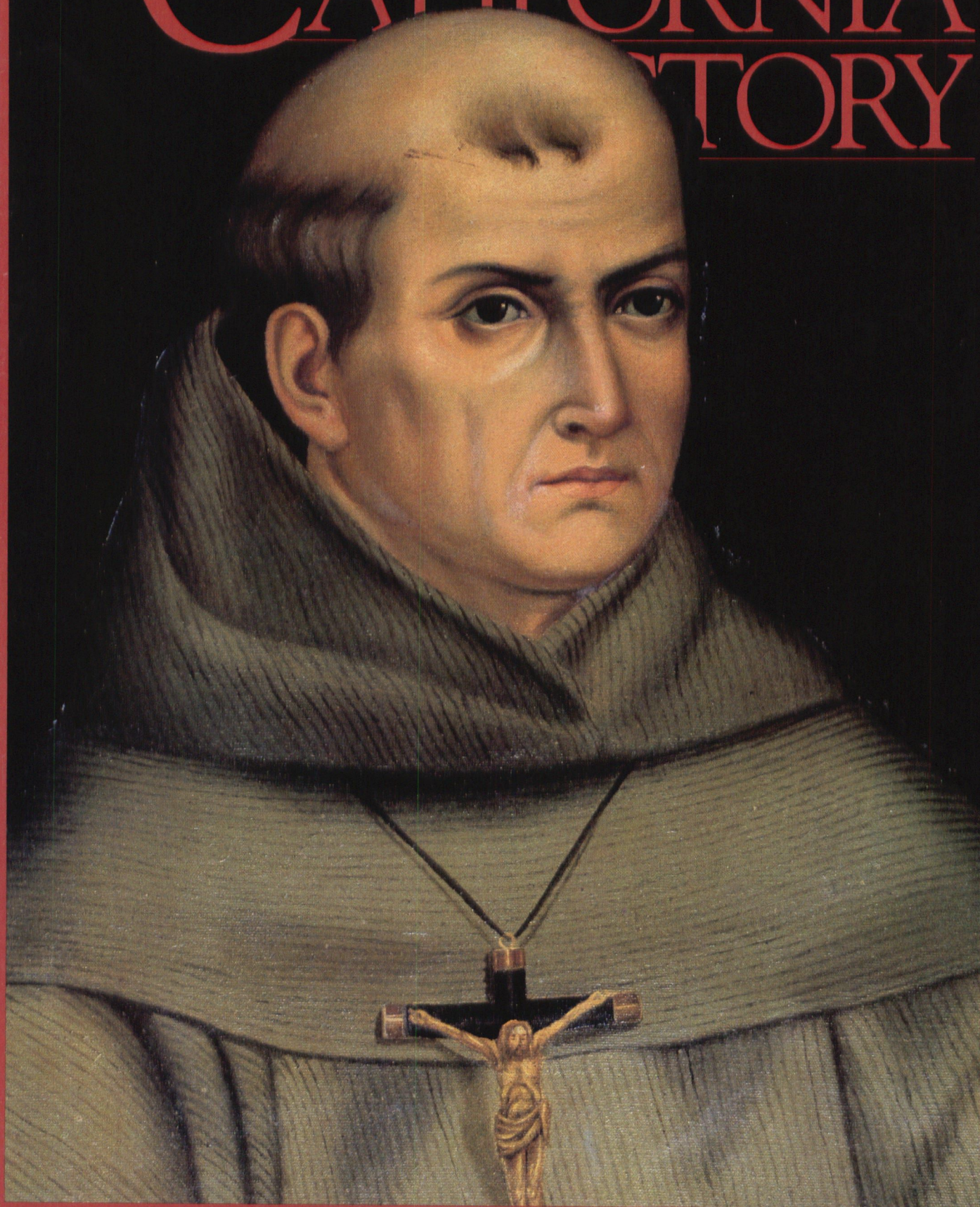


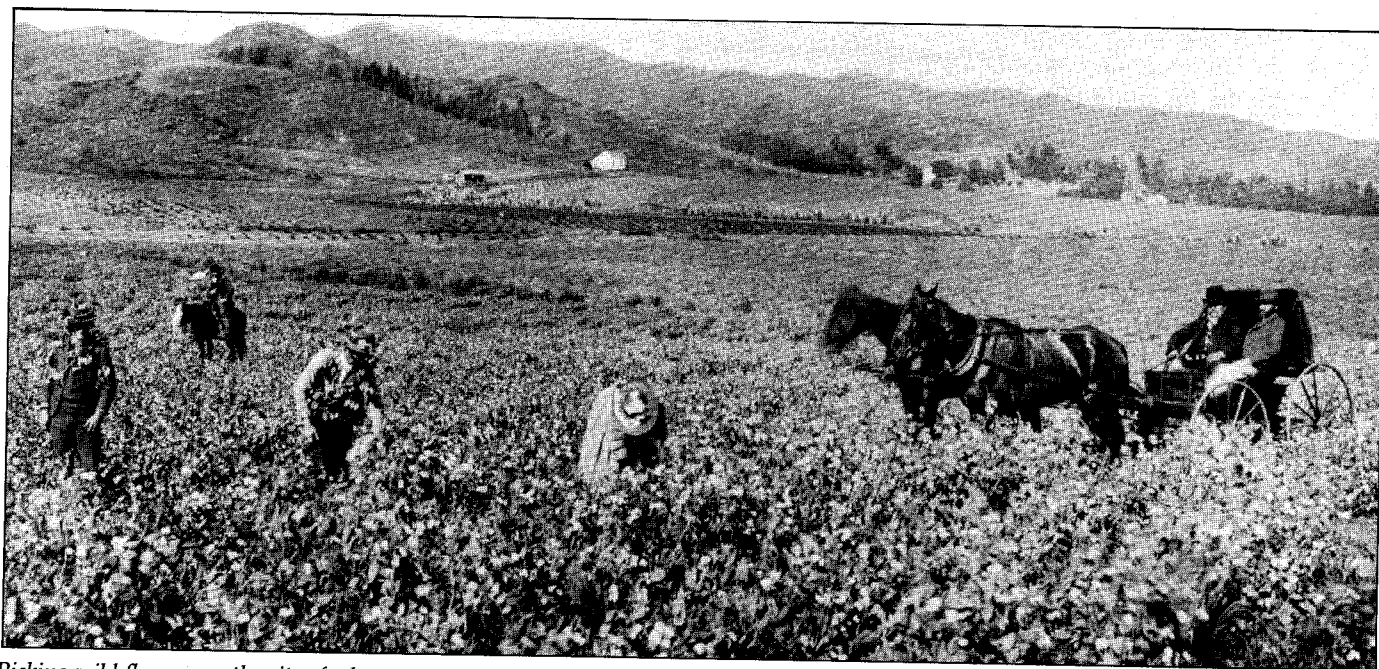
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SEPTEMBER 1988

CALIFORNIA HISTORY



BEVERLY HILLS' DIAMOND JUBILEE



Picking wild flowers on the site of what was to become the famed California city, Beverly Hills. CHS Collections.

On August 3, 1769, the Don Gaspar de Portolá expedition, en route to Monterey Bay, camped that night at a lovely spot which the explorer named the "Springs of the Alders of San Estevan," a site that today is part of modern-day Beverly Hills. However, it was not until sometime in the early 1820s that the area received its first non-Indian resident, retired presidial soldier Vicente Villa and his wife María Rita Valdez. About 1822 Villa received a grant to the Rancho Rodeo de las Aguas—the gathering of waters—derived from the rainy season streams that cascaded down Coldwater and Benedict canyons, which created low land swamps on the plains below.

In 1831, the rancho lands were conveyed to Villa's widow and a fellow kinsman, Luciano Valdez, and renamed the Rancho San Antonio, some 4,500 acres. Ownership between the dual owners sparked a long dispute which was not settled until 1840 when María Rita won full possession and restored the earlier rancho name, Rodeo de las Aguas.

Although the title papers were stolen in 1846, Señora Villa was able to prove her claim and the land was patented in 1871. In the meantime, two Americans, Benjamin D. Wilson and Henry Hancock purchased the rancho in 1854 for \$500 cash, a like promissory note, and a pledge of \$300 more if the land title was validated.

Wilson's attempt to farm 2,000 acres of wheat failed miserably. Disgusted with the prospect before him, he ceased further efforts. In 1865, the Los Angeles Pioneer Oil Company bought up the oil rights and drilled a few wells. In successive decades a number of farmer pioneers held lands on the now long-gone Rancho de las Aguas, among them James Whitworth, Edson A. Benedict and son Pierce, Edward A. Preuss, Henry Hancock, and Andrew H. Denker. The latter two's heirs sold the title to what is now Beverly Hills to the Rodeo Land and Water Company in 1906.

On November 14, 1906, the new corporation, under the guidance of Burton E. Greene, laid out a planned city named "Beverly" after Green's home, Beverly Farms, Massachusetts. Civil engineer Daniel S. Halliday and New York landscape architect Wilbur Cook executed the planned community which was renamed Beverly Hills on January 23, 1907.

In the years that followed, gradually residential life replaced agriculture; lima bean fields gave way to an increasingly grander way of life. Fame came swiftly after the opening of the Beverly Hills Hotel in 1912 and later by the mushrooming motion picture industry in nearby Hollywood. That future was heralded by the building of Pickfair in 1920 by Douglas F. Fairbanks for his bride, Mary Pickford. Beverly Hills quickly became the home of motion picture stars and moguls.

The great American humorist, star of Broadway and films, Will Rogers, on returning to his Beverly Hills home after a triumphant European tour in 1926, was proclaimed honorary mayor. The resultant publicity led to the community receiving cityhood by the state legislature in 1927. Thus, Beverly Hills commemorates its Diamond Jubilee in a year-long celebration, 1987/1988. Happy anniversary, BH!

(Cover) The "Queretaro Serra Portrait," possibly painted when he visited Mexico City for the last time in 1773, although there is no absolute proof. There are several errors in the painting: he had dark eyes, not greenish-gray; an olive moreno complexion, not a ruddy one; he wore an ash gray habit, not a brown one. The original painting was lost, but two late-nineteenth century oil on canvas still exist. The legend reads: "Portrait of the Reverend Fray Junípero Serra, Apostle of Upper California, copied from the original which is kept in his convent of Santa Cruz de Querétaro. Painted by Father José Mosqueda." Courtesy Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library.

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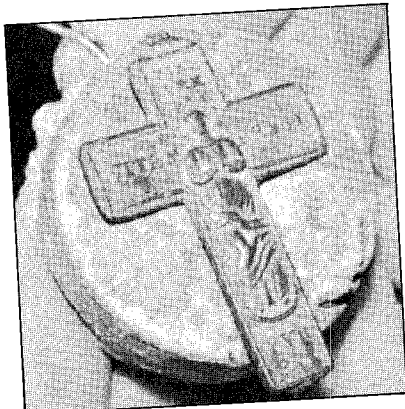
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150

Non Recedet Memoria Ejus:
The Story of Blessed
Junipero Serra's Mission
Carmel Grove
by Martin Mergado



168

168

From Chinese to Chinese American:
Chinese Women & Families
in a Sierra Nevada County
by David Beesley



180

180

Francis Nacke Noel & "Sister Movements":
Socialism, Feminism & Trade Unionism
in Los Angeles, 1909-1916
by Sherry Katz

191

Reviews

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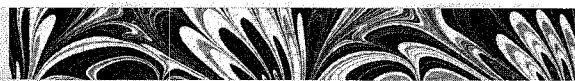
Martin Morgado

The Story of Blessed Junipero Serra's Mission Carmel Grave

Wearing gray habit, cowl, and cord, Junípero Serra was placed in a simple redwood coffin shortly after his death at Mission Carmel on the afternoon of 28 August 1784. A stole was arranged around his neck, and a small bronze reliquary cross in his clasped hands. Indian mourners laid wreaths of wildflowers at his bier, touched rosaries and medals to the body, and began snipping small pieces of habit and hair as *recuerdos* of their departed *padre*. Francisco Palóu, Serra's associate, admonished against such "pious theft" and counseled that relics were to be associated only with canonized saints.

The next morning, all Monterey Presidio soldiers and 600 Mission Carmel Indians attended a Requiem High Mass, followed by burial in the mission church at four in the after-

Serra's Viaticum by Mariano Guerrero, 1785. The commemorative painting shows Serra kneeling, receiving his Last Holy Communion one day before his death, administered by Francisco Palóu at Mission Carmel on 27 August 1784. Due to a lack of documentation, the veracity of Serra's features remain open to question, as in all early Serra portraits. The main criticism here is that Serra's rather embonpoint features do not portray a seventy-year-old man in pain and approaching death. The original painting hangs in the National History Museum, Chapultepec Palace, Mexico City. Courtesy the author.



Memoria Ejus



SEPTEMBER 1988

151



noon. After the open vault in the sanctuary floor was blessed and incensed, final prayers were said and the coffin was lowered into the ground. Farewell tokens of earth were thrown in, and as the final response was sung, "the tears, sighs and cries of those assisting drowned out the voices of the chanters."¹

Many assume that Junípero Serra was buried in the present Mission Carmel Church. He knew a "stone church" would one day be built, but construction did not begin until nine years after his death. He was buried in the "Serra Adobe Church," the fifth of seven progressively more sophisticated structures built on approximately the same site.

The first church, a brush hut *enramada* used at the mission's founding on 24 August 1771, was superseded by a series of three brush/log *jacales*.² By 1783, a mud-brick adobe church was completed, containing three sandstone burial vaults on the Gospel side of the sanctuary, each measuring 7' long × 2'4" wide × 5'2" deep. Juan Crespi, Serra's longtime friend and fellow Mission Carmel priest, had been buried in the vault closest to the side wall of the church on 2 January 1782. Serra was buried in the middle vault, to the right of Crespi, on 29 August 1784.

The "Serra Adobe" was dismantled in 1793 to make way for the present sandstone edifice (a provisional

sixth adobe church was erected nearby). The burial vaults were left untouched, and incorporated into the new, enlarged sanctuary. On 16 July 1797, Mission Carmel priest Julian López was buried in the vault closest to the wall, and Juan Crespi's remains were moved to the middle vault with Serra's. The third vault, to the right of Serra's and closest to the altar, was reserved for the second father-president of the missions, Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, buried on 27 June 1803.

When the final church was dedicated in September 1797, there was no reason to doubt that Serra's eternal rest would ever be disturbed. However, due to his role as California's temporal and spiritual founder, his grave would be opened five times within the next two-hundred years: on 12 March 1856; 14 January 1882; 3 July 1882; 30 August–7 December 1943; and 12–13 November 1987.

After Mexico acquired its independence from Spain in 1821, the California missions slowly disbanded. Their fate was sealed by the harsh *Reglamento Provisional* (Provisional Regulation) of 1834, a "secularization" decree authorizing termination of the mission system, and civil confiscation of all mission property. Mission Carmel slowly fell into ruin, and the last resident priest left in 1845. The church's heavy stone/wood/tile roof began to collapse in winter 1852, and the interior was badly damaged and exposed to the elements.³

Most Rev. Joseph Alemany, O.P., California's first archbishop (1853–1884), sought to organize and reclaim church property after the United States annexed California

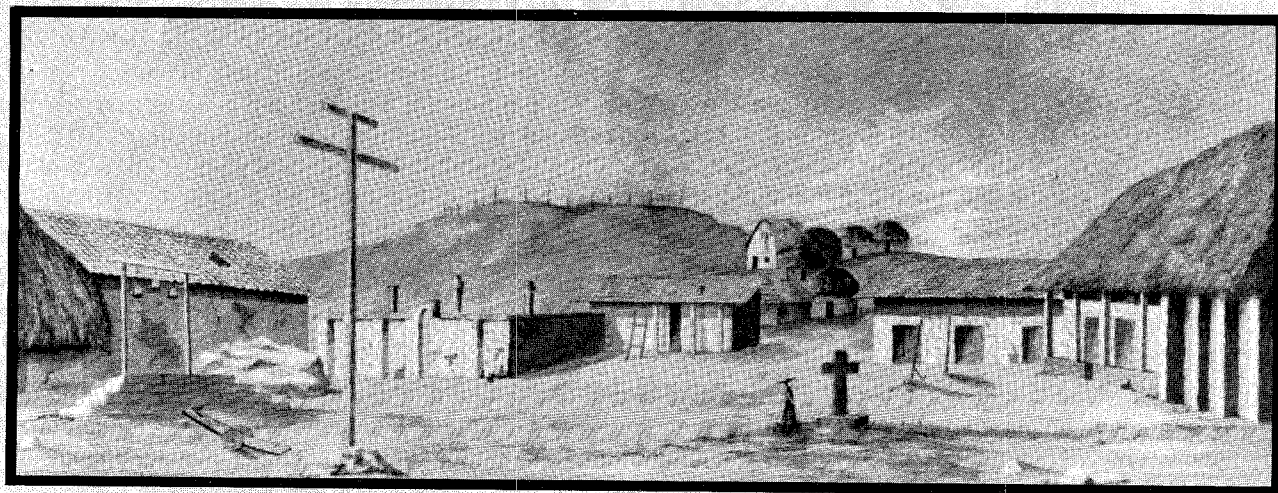
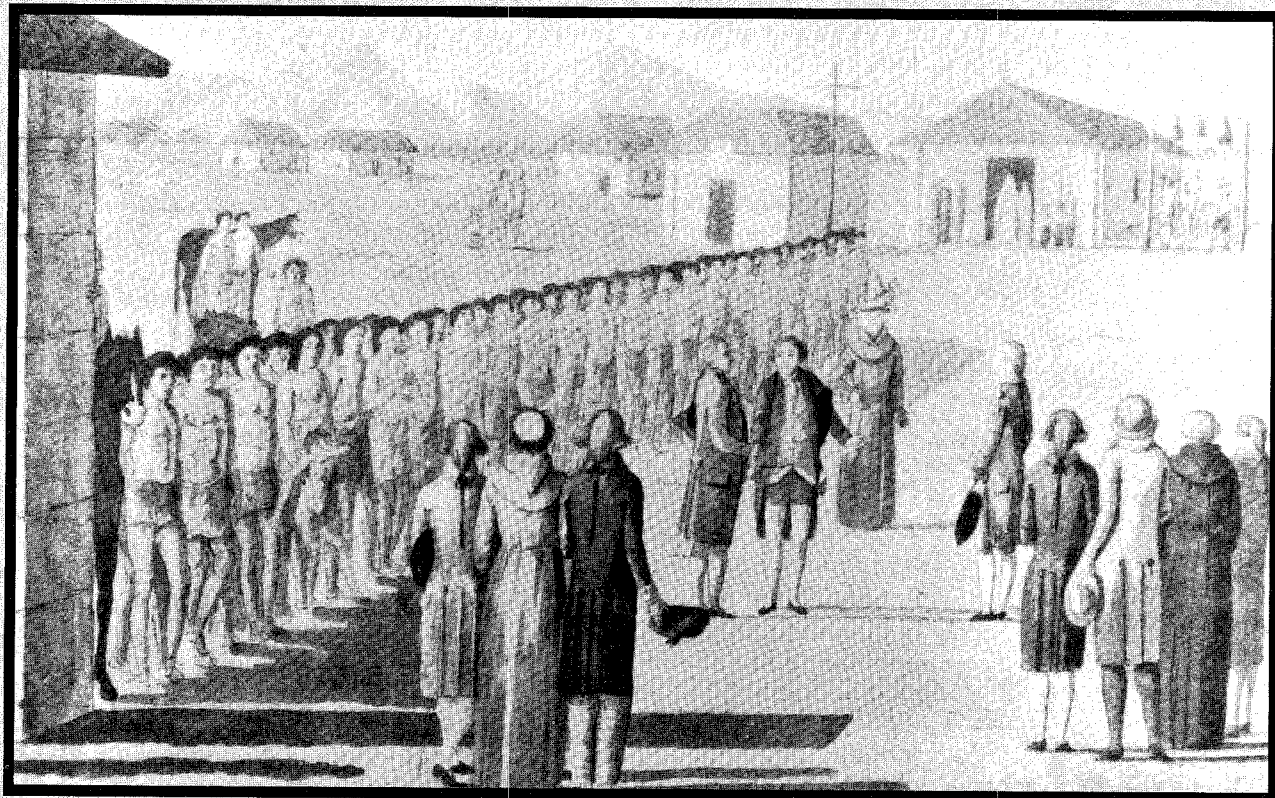
(1846), and admitted it to the Union (1850). The Spanish-born prelate was also interested in the nascent state's Spanish/Mexican past, and in 1856 he asked the pastor of Monterey's Royal Presidio Chapel, Rev. Cayetano Sorrentini (1856–1858), to reestablish the location of Serra's forgotten, unmarked grave at Mission Carmel.

Assisted by Francisco Pacheco and other interested parishioners, Fr. Sorrentini searched on 10–12 March "where Mr. Pacheco and other longtime inhabitants indicated as points to be examined."⁴ Several twelve-foot-deep trenches yielded nothing the first day. Several graves were discovered the following day, most notably that of Spanish California governor José Antonio Roméu, located on the Epistle side of the nave near the sanctuary. Finally on 12 March, Sorrentini cleared

*all the earth which was in the area of the main altar on the Gospel side. . . . We found a vault well sealed in which there was a coffin wherein were the remains of a priest wearing a stole and garments in a good state of preservation, as may be seen from the fact that the stole had braid of fine gold. This finding of a priest so richly vested, a thing which none of the others had [the day before], convinces me that perhaps these are the remains of the one for whom we are looking. . . . I considered it prudent to cover the said vault and the said exterior with stones and earth so that the devil would not tempt the squatters to do the same to the ashes of those remains as they did to the holy water and baptismal fonts, the altars and confessionals.*⁵

Nothing more is known about this first recorded opening of Serra's grave, save for Sorrentini's 1882 statement that he "unearthed and

Martin Morgado, a resident of Carmel and a second year law student at Santa Clara University, recently published a book, reviewed in this issue of the quarterly, entitled *Junípero Serra's Legacy* (Pacific Grove, 1987). He served as official photographer to the most recent exhumation of Fr. Serra's remains, buried in Mission San Carlos Borromeo, Carmel.



Mission Carmel, September 1787. Executed by La Pérouse Expedition artist Gaspard Duché de Vancy, the sketch shows the reception of the first "foreign" visitor to a California mission. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, second father-president of the missions, stands in the doorway of Mission Carmel's fifth church, the "Serra Adobe" (1783-93), where Serra was interred. To the left of the church, Serra's founding cross stands in the courtyard. To the right, Indian bellringers announce La Pérouse's arrival. Courtesy Museo Naval, Madrid.

Mission Carmel, November 1794. Executed by Vancouver Expedition artist John Sykes, the sketch shows the graves of Serra and Crespi marked by a small, stout cross in the courtyard. The "Serra Adobe" was dismantled in 1793, to make way for the present stone church, completed in 1797. Its sacristy, with thatched roof to the right of the cross, was built first to train the Indian craftsmen. When the nave was built, the burial vaults were left untouched and incorporated into the new, larger sanctuary. On the far left, next to the bells, stands the provisional sixth church, used from February 1793 to September 1797. Courtesy Mission Carmel Archives.



discovered for the first time [in 1856] the . . . sacred remains of the Apostle, Father Junipero Serra."⁶ This was a local, semi-private event, and it seems to have been quickly forgotten, for within a few years the abandoned church was even more desolate and ruinous. After touring Mission Carmel on 31 May 1861, geologist William H. Brewer vividly described Mission Carmel's state of affairs:

Cattle had free access to all parts; the broken font, finely carved in stone, lay in a corner; broken columns were strewn around where the altar was; and a very large owl flew frightened from its nest over the high altar. I tied my mule to a broken pillar, climbed over the rubbish to the altar, and passed into the sacristy. . . . A dead pig lay beneath the finely carved font for holy water. . . . Thousands of birds, apparently, lived in nooks of the old deserted walls of the ruins, and the number of ground squirrels burrowing in the old mounds . . . was incredible.⁷

In 1870, Rev. Angelo Casanova, Royal Presidio Chapel pastor, hired local whaler Christiano Machado as resident Mission Carmel caretaker. Machado chased off squatters, tended the grounds, and began clearing three to four feet of dirt, debris and stone from within the church. He placed a simple wooden cross in the sanctuary, inscribed "Junípero Serra."

As the centennial of Serra's death approached, Casanova worked to raise money for Mission Carmel's restoration. In 1880, he began charging tourists ten cents to visit the ruins, and raised \$11.75 the first year. In 1882, he decided to relocate Serra's once again forgotten grave, hoping that its discovery would generate

more interest and restoration funds.

Working secretly with Machado on 14 January 1882, and using Serra's death entry in Mission Carmel's *Libro de Difuntos* (Book of Deaths) as a guide, Casanova

locate[d] the spot, . . . as near as it was possible to tell, right over Serra's grave. After digging down about three feet through accumulated dirt and rubbish the pick, in the hands of the workman, struck a board and immediately surmising that this was what he sought, he went to work carefully and uncovered several redwood boards set in evenly, and immediately over stones One of the stone slabs at the foot of the grave was broken, and the weight of the dirt and rubbish above had forced the board covering the slab to give way, filling the foot of the coffin with earth. The upper portion or head of the coffin, and contents, were in a splendid state of preservation. . . . The tibiae of the legs were calcined, the ribs of the breast were arched, yet not fallen in, the skull was unbroken and intact, and pieces of the stole (violet color) and fringes were taken up, and I [Casanova] have preserved them.⁸

With the grave relocated, Casanova organized a public viewing. On 3 July 1882, "after giving notice in the papers of San Francisco, over 400 people from the city, and from the [Monterey] Hotel Del Monte, at the hour appointed, went to [Mission] Carmelo."⁹ Casanova recorded the following:

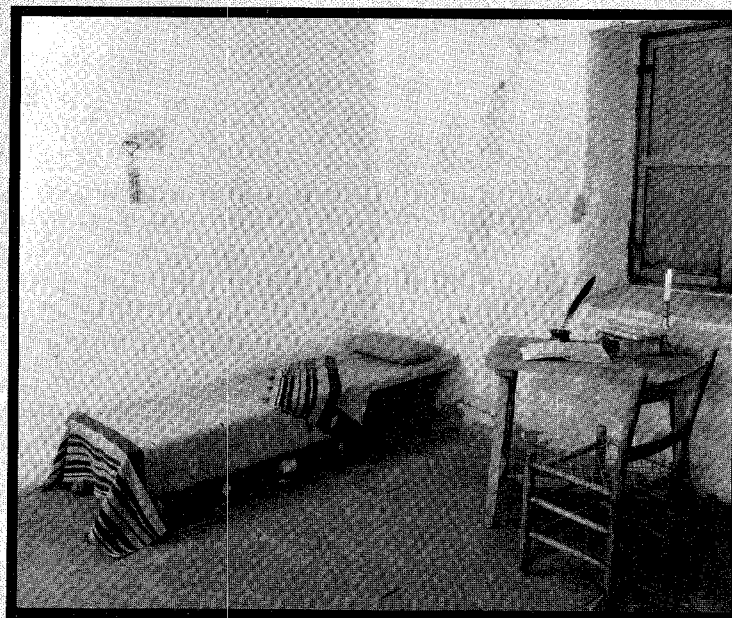
To satisfy the desires of many people who wanted to see the graves of the Reverend Fathers buried in the sanctuary . . . and to determine by means of the very burial registers their location and remains, we [Casanova and Machado] opened the graves and found the remains in a good state of preservation. Three of the deceased were wearing their violet stoles

still in a very good state and (in one vault) one coffin was resting above another, the top coffin lying to one side. . . . The stoles we found them wearing on July 3 we took up and distributed pieces of them as mementos which the people desired. It appeared the bodies had been buried in lime, for there was much lime in the coffins and the remains were, one might say, encased in it. . . . After the examination of the remains we again covered the vaults with the same stone slabs which they had before. The vault in the middle, because there were not sufficient stone[s] to cover it, we filled with earth and it was covered like the others with the same stone flags. . . . It is to be noted that no coffin was removed or transferred.¹⁰

Serra's silk, cotton-lined burial stole (4'8" × 3" wide) is today on display in Mission Carmel Museum. Approximately twenty percent is missing, having been cut into very small pieces and distributed to those at the 1882 viewing. The remainder was for a time divided in half, and traveled a rather circuitous route before being reunited and returned to the mission in 1938. Several methods were used to establish provenance, including comparison to a third small piece in a reliquary, accompanied by a letter of authenticity signed by Casanova in 1882.

Casanova's efforts resulted in several interior restoration projects, including a new roof for the church, and burying the sanctuary graves beneath a foot of concrete and stone when raising the level of the sanctuary floor in 1883. He installed a marble plaque on the sanctuary wall near Serra's grave (removed in 1943), inscribed in Latin:

Here repose the earthly remains of the Very Reverend Father Junípero Serra,



Reconstructed cell at Mission Carmel where Serra died on August 28, 1784. The foundation and first few feet of wall are original, as are the floor tiles, although gathered from other parts of the mission. The room is furnished as described by Palou, with the replica bed and table constructed from original mission timber. The Bible and "discipline" hanging on the wall are original Serra possessions.

Mission Carmel interior, c.1870. The cross on the left side of the sanctuary marks the approximate site of Serra's grave. Courtesy Pat Hathaway Collection of California Views, Monterey.



O.S.F. [Order of St. Francis], Founder and President of the California Missions who was peacefully interred here on 28 [sic] [29] August 1784. Together with his associates R.R.P.P. [Reverend Fathers] Juan Crespi, Julian López and Francisco Lasuén. May they rest in peace.¹¹

Little more was done until the 1930s, when a program of comprehensive restoration was begun. Under the guidance of Mission Carmel Curator Sir Harry Downie K.S.G. (1931–1980), the mission compound was slowly rebuilt. The church sanctuary remained untouched until May 1943, when Downie began preliminary work to lower the floor to its original level. He located the foundation of the fifth “Serra Adobe Church,” and was about to examine the vault nearest the wall when ordered to stop by Most Rev. Philip Scher, D.D., Bishop of Monterey–Fresno (1933–1953). The bishop wanted to undertake a canonical (following Catholic Church law) exhumation of Serra’s remains, an important step in the process toward sainthood. The Canonization Cause of Junípero Serra had been introduced to the Vatican’s Sacred Congregation of Rites on 28 August 1934, but was only now gaining momentum.¹²

Serra’s secret canonical exhumation began with preparatory work on 30–31 August 1943.¹³ Downie used a compressor to break through the heavy concrete and stone slabs placed over the vaults in 1883. He carefully removed and saved the dirt Casanova placed in the middle vault, which was filled within inches of the top.

On the morning of 1 September, with the church doors locked, the

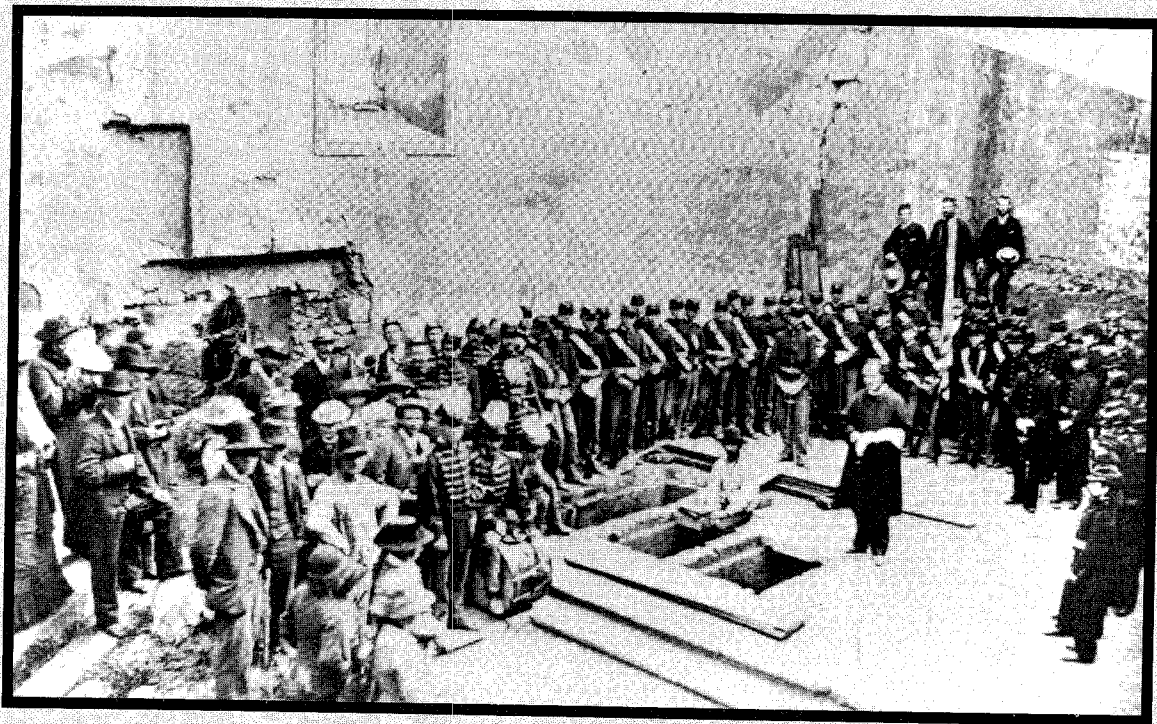
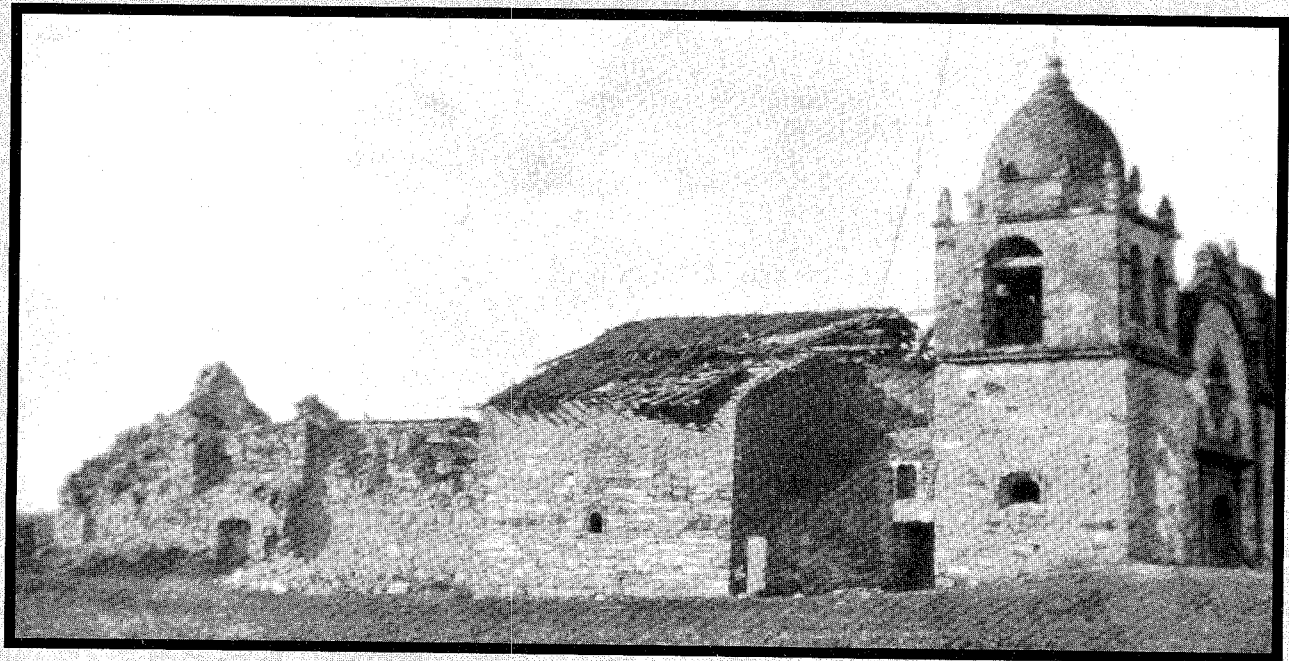
sanctuary draped from view, the tombs covered and canonically secured with wax seals, and the “oath of fidelity and secrecy” administered by Very Rev. John Durkin, V.F., Bishop’s Delegate, and Rev. Lucien Arvin, J.C.D., Promoter of the Faith (a canon law expert charged with establishing beyond reasonable doubt the validity of the evidence), the lengthy official proceedings began with the assistance of: Rev. Eric O’Brien, O.F.M., Serra Cause Postulator (administrator of the Cause and liaison with the Vatican); Rev. Constantine Badeson, Ecclesiastical Notary; Major Richard Berg, M.D., U.S.A., Fort Ord, and Clemens Nagelmann, M.D., both listed as “skilled anatomical physicians;” Rev. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., Ph.D., Mission Santa Barbara archivist and historian of the Franciscan Province of Santa Barbara; Harry Downie, “custodian of the church and sepulcher . . . [and] skilled workman;” several “witnesses designated to point out the traditional site of Serra’s burial,” including “Joseph Mora, skilled artisan, . . . George Marion, retired actor, . . . Mrs. Mary Gould, daughter of Christiano Machado;” Sergeant Joe Hinojos, U.S.A., Fort Ord, official photographer; and several “supplementary witnesses” and church officials.¹⁴ As the investigation progressed, two anthropologists were called in to examine the remains: Theodore McCown, Ph.D., Professor of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley; and Mark Harrington, Ph.D., Curator, Southwest Museum, Los Angeles.

The contents of all three vaults were removed and studied, but the primary objective was the incontrovertible identification of Serra’s remains. After five feet of dirt was re-

moved from the middle vault, the sides of a badly deteriorated redwood coffin appeared in the middle of the floor of the vault, along with a skeleton within. A small bronze reliquary cross was found among the remains. The bones were carefully removed and placed in a secretly numbered box, the same procedure used with the other remains. The anonymous bones were examined and studied by the two physicians and two anthropologists, and in a thirty-six-page report, Dr. McCown (an expert in identifying prehistoric and historic human remains) concluded:

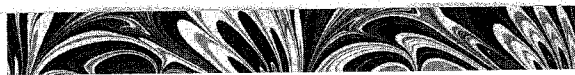
Tradition, historical fact, anthropology, and archaeology combine overwhelmingly in establishing the identity of the cranium of the skeleton of Individual A as Father Serra . . . a short-statured, small-boned, white male European . . . over sixty years at death. He was about five feet, two inches tall, at the most . . . [a] small and wiry but well-proportioned man. . . . We can clearly identify Individual A of grave 2, the traditional Serra grave, as being the earthly remains of Father Junípero Serra. The only possible basis for reinterpretation would be detailed and contradictory evidence regarding the physique and physiognomy of Fr. Serra based upon the records or upon descriptions of him by others of his contemporaries. Until and unless this is forthcoming, I believe we may consider the identification proved.¹⁵

Due to a canonical prohibition against pathological testing during the exhumation, the McCown Report was unable to conclusively determine Serra’s cause of death at age seventy years, nine months, four days. In the opinion of Serra’s longtime associate and biographer Francisco Palóu:



Mission Carmel, 3 July 1882, showing the extent of roof and structural damage. Courtesy California State Library, Sacramento.

3 July 1882 public viewing of Serra's grave, showing Father Casanova holding Mission Carmel's Libro de Difuntos; mission caretaker Christiano Machado sitting on the edge of Serra's vault; California National Guard "Legion of Saint Patrick" Cadets; California National Guard Third Regiment Band; and audience. Courtesy Mission Carmel Archives.



Th[e] illness, the pain in his chest, he . . . suffered . . . for many years, from the time he was at the college [Mexico City's Apostolic College of San Fernando, where he arrived at age thirty-six, and soon after served an eight-year missionary term in the damp Sierra Gorda mountain region of Mexico], although he never complained about it or made the least effort to obtain treatment, for he paid little attention to that as the wound and swelling of his foot and leg [from an infected mosquito or "chigger" bite, inflicted at age thirty-six when he walked a tropical 275-mile stretch of Mexico's [El Camino Real]. . . . Although he never stated whether his pain and congestion of the chest really hurt him or not, I thought it actually did.¹⁶

Contemporary physicians and historians have suggested asthma or tuberculosis as Serra's cause of death, but no one is certain. However, his age, strenuous lifestyle, chest ailment, and ulcerated leg certainly add up to Palóu's simple prognosis of a "worn-out body."¹⁷

Juan Crespí's remains were also found in the middle vault, on the left side, next to Serra's redwood coffin (moved there in 1797 when Fr. López was buried in the vault closest to the church wall). The McCown Report noted that

skeleton B of grave 2 . . . was much taller, much stronger and with robust bones, all of them features which do not agree with what we are led to believe were the bodily characteristics of Fr. Serra. Moreover, the position of the remains is not to be ignored. The skull of B lay beside the thorax of skeleton A more or less in the region of the elbow. Moreover, the preserved part of the cranial vault lay base upward, as is evident from the photograph taken. These facts demonstrate that B's bones, not the corpse, had

been placed in the [vault] of Individual A.¹⁸

Final interment was at 9:30 a.m. on 7 December 1943. Crespí and López were placed in new terra-cotta caskets with copper inscription plates, and reinterred in the vault closest to the wall. Since Serra's original redwood coffin was badly damaged and deteriorated (now preserved in Mission Carmel Museum), he received a new child-size copper casket, measuring four feet, five inches long (his remains consisted of individual bones, not an articulated skeleton, so a full-size casket was not necessary). The casket had two lids, a curved outer one of copper, and a flat inner one, airtight and made of glass. At the foot of his remains, a sealed copper tube contained the following record in Latin, signed by all those present:

The remains of the Servant of God Reverend Father Junípero Serra, Apostle of California and Founder of this Mission, buried on 29 August 1784, exhumed and identified in 1943, and reinterred in this new coffin on 7 December of the same year, by authority of Most Reverend Philip G. Scher, Bishop of Monterey-Fresno.¹⁹

The casket was canonically sealed with copper wire wound through holes in the fastening bolts of the inner glass lid, and crimped at the end with a small lead rubric (a seal, impressed with a crucifix on one side, and an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the other). The outer, protective lid was closed but not sealed, and then the casket was lowered into the middle vault. All three vaults were covered with inscribed, interlocking slabs of composition stone/concrete designed and installed by Downie. Serra's head-

stone reads: "Father Junipero Serra—Apostle of California—1713–1784."

The small reliquary cross found in Serra's grave played an important role in the scientific study to identify conclusively Serra's remains. Dr. McCown wrote:

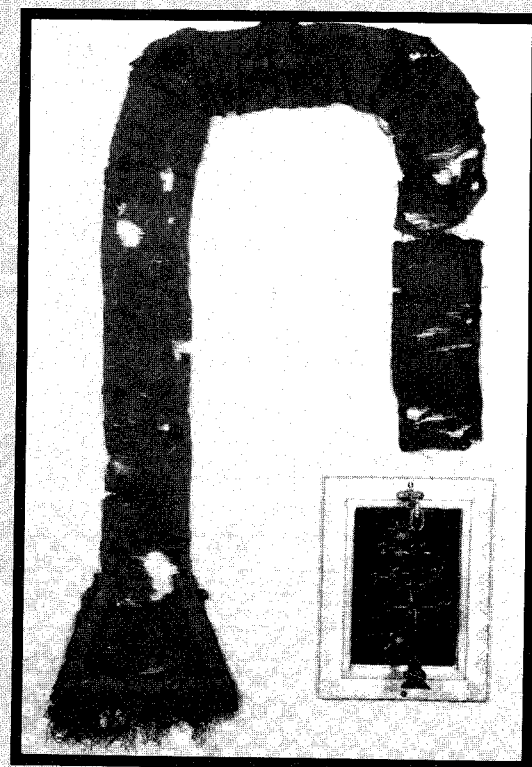
There is one prime piece of . . . archaeological [evidence]. This is the reliquary found in association with the bones of burial A in grave 2. One of the neck vertebrae is stained with green by the verdigris from a bronze cross.²⁰

After removal from the grave, it was cleaned . . . [and with] the verdigris removed, it was found to be of bronze. Within, when opened scissors-wise, there was found more verdigris and lime. The small thin pieces of glass covering . . . relics [inside the cross] were removed after which some of the writing on thin strips of paper covering the relics could be read. One of these inscriptions read: "B. Raydi M" and another "Raydi M" both . . . meaning [in Latin] Blessed Raymond Lull of Mallorca [Spain].²¹

The conclusion was:

The reliquary itself was so clearly the product of a European craftsman, probably an Italian or Spaniard, and the revelation of the object's connection with the Blessed Raymond Lull—the eponym of Serra's University of Mallorca—is evidence which no qualified archaeologist could hesitate to stress in the strongest possible way as being critical to identifying the remains with which it was found as those of a priest, a native of Mallorca.²²

The small bronze cross (4-3/4" tall × 2-1/4" wide), known as a Cruz de Caravaca, is today on display in Mission Carmel Museum. Legend credits the medieval Cruz de Caravaca with winning battles and converting Moors after a supernatural vision in 1232 revealed the distinctive double



Serra's reinterment, 7 December 1943. L-R: Rev. Constantine Badeson, Ecclesiastical Notary; Rev. Eric O'Brien, O.F.M., Serra Cause Vice-Postulator; Very Rev. John Durkin, V.F., Bishop's Delegate; Rev. Michael O'Connell, Mission Carmel Pastor; Harry Downie, Mission Carmel Curator; Rev. Lucien Arvin, J.C.D., Promoter of the Faith; Very Rev. Gregory Wooler, O.F.M., Provincial of the Franciscan Province of Santa Barbara. Courtesy Mission Carmel Archives.

Serra's silk, cotton-lined burial stole, taken from his grave by Casanova on 14 January 1882. Courtesy the author.



crosspiece design to Gines Pérez, a priest imprisoned in the southern Spanish town of Caravaca during the Moslem occupation of Spain (711–1492).²³ The cross is also associated with Saint Teresa of Avila.

Serra's Caravaca Cross is decorated with Christ Crucified and Our Lady of Sorrows at his feet. Above Christ's head, the letters INRI, an acronym for the Latin *Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudaeorum* ("Pilate had an inscription placed on the Cross which read, JESUS THE NAZAREAN THE KING OF THE JEWS. The inscription in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, was read by many." John 19:19–20). Also, to the left of Christ on the lower crosspiece, the letters IHS, the first three letters of *ISHOUS*, the Greek spelling of the name Jesus. To his right on the lower crosspiece, the letters AM, a monogram for the Latin *Ava Maria, Regina* (Hail Mary, Queen). A skull and crossbones is at the base of the cross, symbolic of Golgotha ("Jesus was led away and carrying the cross by himself, went out to what is called the Place of the Skull, in Hebrew, Golgotha. There they crucified him." John 19:16–18), and also in reference to a medieval belief that the Cross was implanted over Adam's grave, with Christ's sacrifice serving to redeem mankind from Adam and Eve's Original Sin.

Most remarkable of all are the relics inside the cross, which can be seen through tiny windows on its reverse side. Nine cloth relics under glass (unsealed), have survived two hundred years of exposure, and some of their identifying marks can still be read. At least two pertain to Blessed Ramón Llull (Raymond Lull or Lully in English), thirteenth-century Mallorcan philosopher, theologian, and missionary. He is buried

in Palma de Mallorca's San Francisco Basilica, where Serra was ordained and lived for eighteen years. Most likely, the pieces of cloth were touched to his grave, thereby becoming "third-class" relics.²⁴ At some point they were brought to California, and eventually placed within the cross buried with Serra. The handwritten letters *San* (Saint in Spanish, or short for *Sanctus*, Saint in Latin), are clearly discernible over one relic, which could not pertain to B. Raydi M (*Beatus*, Blessed in Latin) Ramón Llull of Mallorca. However, nothing more can be read.

Serra's Cause for Canonization proceeded slowly during the next forty years. Eight-thousand pages of documents regarding Serra's life, reputation, and character were gathered and sent to Rome, and "canonical courts" were held in several California cities to interview descendants of families familiar with Serra.²⁵ As Mission Carmel's restoration neared completion, the stream of pilgrims to Serra's grave escalated. Among the illustrious visitors were President and Mrs. Dwight Eisenhower on 26 August 1956; Senator and Mrs. John Kennedy on 29 May 1960; and First Lady Mrs. Lyndon Johnson on 21 September 1966.²⁶

By August 1981, the Serra Cause documents were condensed into a 650-page *Summarium*.²⁷ The highly technical dissertation presented Serra as a formal candidate for sainthood to the Vatican's Sacred Congregation for the Causes of Saints (formerly the Sacred Congregation of Rites), a ten-member body of cardinals and archbishops appointed to consider such matters. After establishing that Serra indeed lived a life

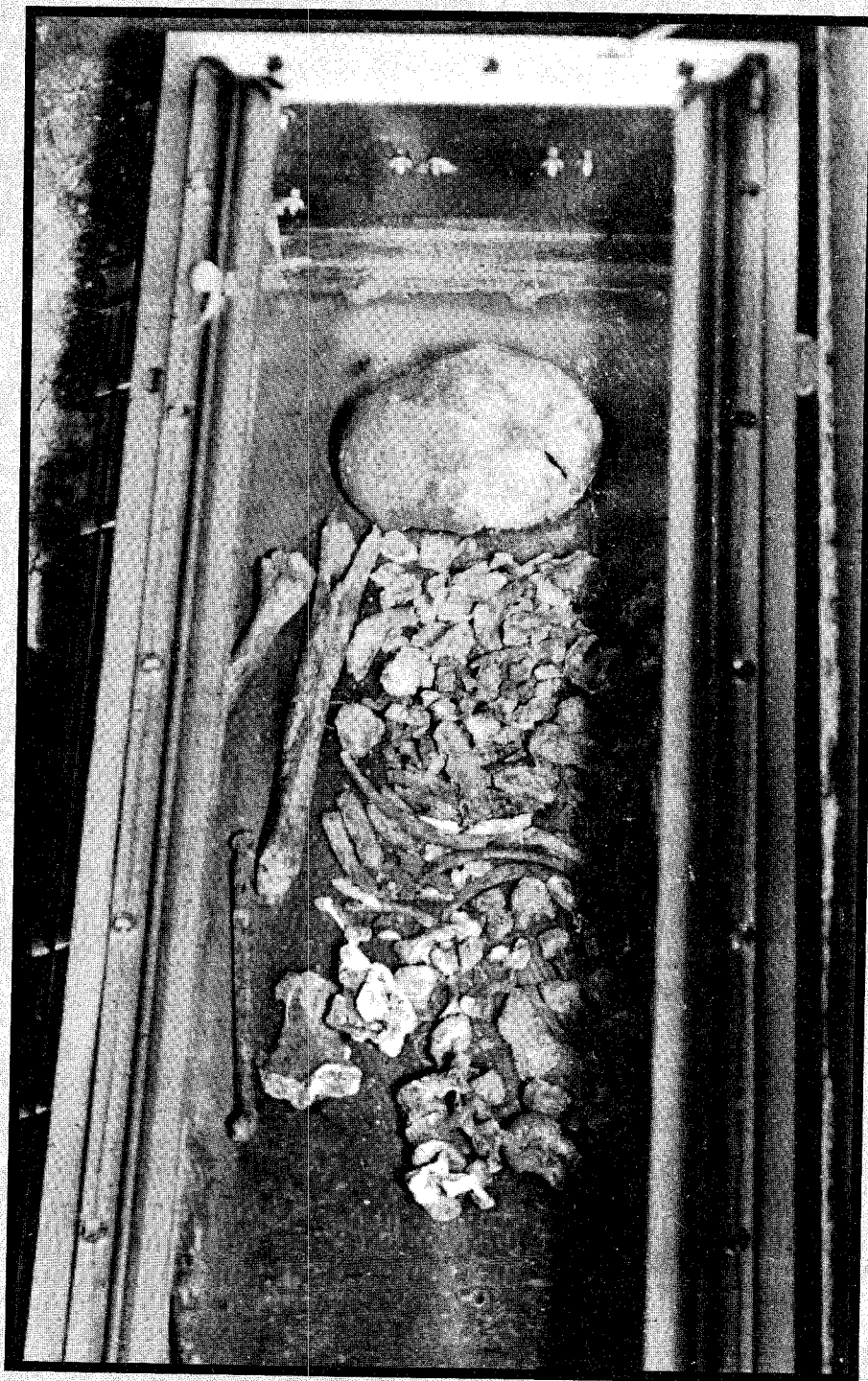
of true sanctity and "heroic" virtue (practicing extraordinary faith, hope, charity, prudence, justice, and temperance), he was accepted as a candidate for sainthood on 17 February 1982.²⁸ His name was then submitted to His Holiness Pope John Paul II, with the petition that he declare Serra "Venerable" (i.e. worthy of veneration), the last major step toward beatification and canonization.

On 28 August 1984, all of California's bishops gathered at Serra's grave for a Mass commemorating the bicentennial of his death. His Eminence Timothy Cardinal Manning, D.D., J.C.D., Archbishop of Los Angeles, said in his homily:

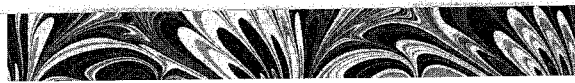
*The seed must die in order to bear fruit. . . . This holy seed, which is the mortal remains of Junípero Serra . . . lies buried here beneath us, and out of that burial has come the flowering of the Church in California.*²⁹

On 28 August 1985, all of California's bishops once again assembled at Mission Carmel, for an outdoor Mass marking the official closing of a "Serra Year" of international events. President Ronald Reagan sent the following telegram, read by Most Rev. Thaddeus Shubsda, D.D., Bishop of Monterey in California, and Chairperson—Episcopal Moderator of the Serra Bicentennial Commission:

I am pleased to send warm greetings to everybody participating in the solemn religious ceremonies concluding the bicentennial of the Venerable Father Junípero Serra's death. Father Serra is one of the heroes of our land. His tireless work for the Indians of California, despite distances and physical disabilities that would have daunted a lesser man, remains a shining page in our history. His



Serra's remains, 7 December 1943. Courtesy Mission Carmel Archives.



missions stand as a monument to his powerful religious convictions. I am proud that my own state of California has erected, in our Nation's Capitol, a statue in his honor. Mrs. Reagan joins me in wishing all of you a memorable event. God bless you.³⁰

His Holiness Pope John Paul II declared Junípero Serra "Venerable" on 9 May 1985.³¹ To proceed to the next step of beatification, all previous findings must be reviewed by the Congregation, and a search made for unequivocal confirmation of God's approval of the candidate and his life, i.e. miracles ascribed to his intercession after death. In 1960, Sister Mary Boniface Dyrda, O.S.F., of St. Louis, Missouri, was suffering from a degenerative tissue disease called lupus. She prayed to Serra and was healed.³² Her case was arduously scrutinized by a medical subcommittee of the Congregation and deemed scientifically unexplainable on 23 July 1987.³³ Now the matter would move to the full Congregation; if they accepted the medical subcommittee's findings, then the last step would be the Pope's confirmation of the miracle and his recommendation of beatification.

With only a few details remaining for acceptance of Serra's beatification, it was hoped that His Holiness would beatify Serra on the occasion of his 17 September 1987 visit to Monterey-Carmel. This did not occur, but His Holiness did visit Serra's grave, where he paused to bless it, lay a wreath, and pray. In his Mission Carmel Basilica address, he said in part:

I come today as a pilgrim to this Mission of San Carlos, which so powerfully evokes the heroic spirit and heroic deeds of Fray Junípero Serra and which enshrines his mortal remains. This serene

and beautiful place is truly the historical and spiritual heart of California. All the missions of "El Camino Real" bear witness to the challenges and heroism of an earlier time, but not a time forgotten or without significance for the California of today and the church of today.³⁴

Serra's Cause for Canonization continued to move forward after the Pope's visit. On 12-13 November 1987, Serra's remains were once again disinterred from his grave. This was done for the purpose of canonically identifying the remains of the Venerable Servant of God, Junípero Serra, for the purpose of preserving his remains, and, looking forward to his approaching beatification, for the purpose of recovering small parts separated from the body to satisfy the devotion of the faithful.³⁵

Hadn't this been done in 1943? Technically yes, but the rules governing canonical exhumations were much stricter at that time. They prohibited removal of any bone fragments until the candidate had been accepted for beatification, ensuring against premature veneration. The Pope is traditionally the first to venerate the remains of a newly beatified Servant of God, which takes place during the beatification ceremony. Afterward, minuscule fragments are appropriately encased and distributed to the faithful as relics of the "first class." So, it was necessary to exhume Serra's remains once again, also serving as an opportunity to reconfirm the 1943 findings.

Canon law also dictated why the exhumation must again be "secret." Such events are to

be done in a completely private manner without any pomp and without any sign or indication of public worship; moreover, the remains are not to be ex-

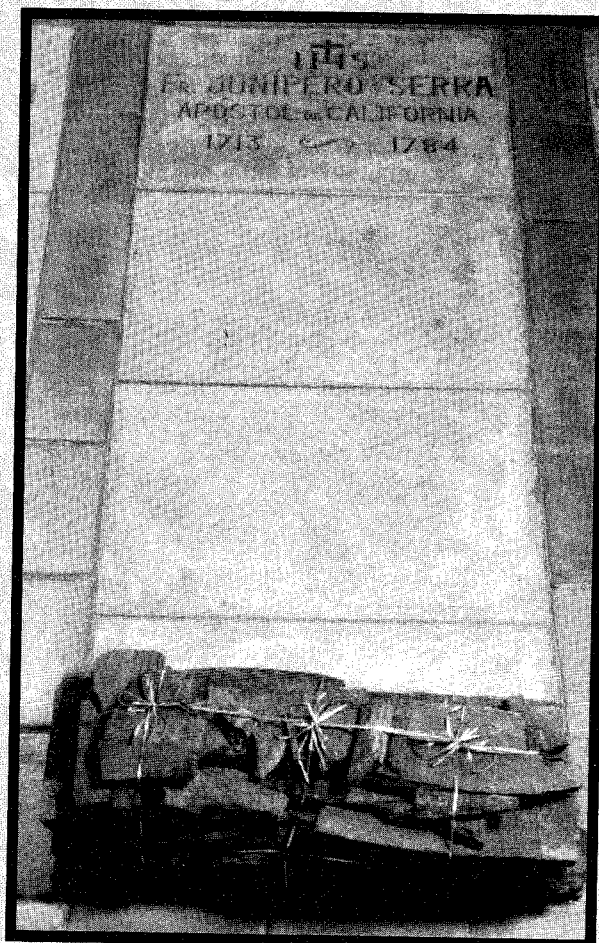
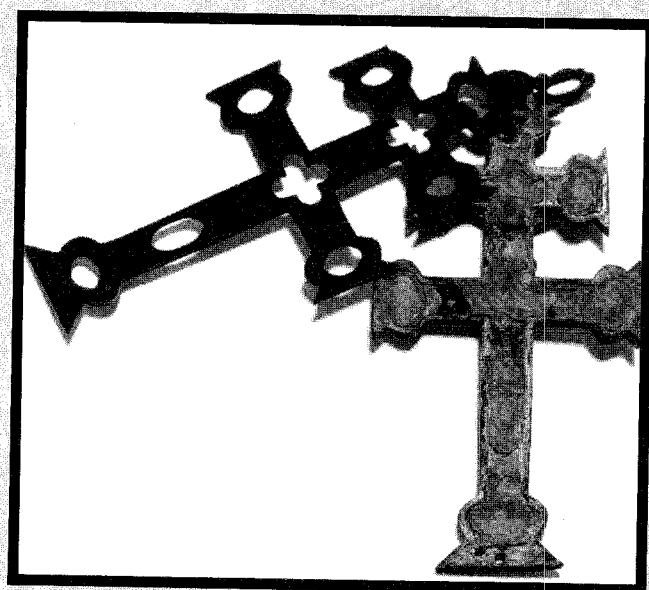
posed for public devotion until after the solemn beatification.³⁶

Work privately began at four in the afternoon on 12 November, under the direction of Monterey Diocesan Curator and Mission Consultant Mr. Richard-joseph Menn. With his assistants, Huu Van Nguyen and Tu Van Thanth, he carefully pried off the tiles around Serra's grave. The three were soon joined by Robert Farley, Monterey Diocesan Director of Cemeteries; Jesse Rubio, San Carlos Cemetery, Monterey; and Jess Valdez, Calvary Cemetery, Hollister. The author was also present as photographer of the event.

Now began the delicate task of removing the four interlocking stone slabs that covered the vault. The late Harry Downie, Mission Carmel curator during the 1943 opening, had shared the "secret" of unlocking the stones with Menn. Menn believed the entire process would not take more than three hours. However, it soon became clear that hand tools alone were not enough, for Downie had apparently affixed the stones to several inches of concrete, creating a single, impregnable mass almost one foot thick. Skill saws were brought in, and each stone was slowly separated from the next.

By 8 p.m., the first small hole had been sawed and chiseled completely through to the interior of the vault. The smell emitted was akin to humus, not from the remains, but from the sealed sandstone vault and its earthen floor. With a flashlight, light was shined down where none had been for nearly forty-five years. Five feet below the surface of the sanctuary, the faint outline of Serra's casket could be seen.

At approximately 10 p.m., the first massive slab, the headstone, was



Serra's bronze burial reliquary cross, taken from his grave during the 1943 canonical exhumation. Courtesy the author.

Reverse side of the open reliquary showing nine cloth relics under glass. Courtesy the author.

Serra's Mission Carmel sanctuary grave and remnants of his original 1784 redwood coffin. Epitaph reads: "Fray Junípero Serra—Apostle of California—1713-1784." Courtesy the author.



lifted off. The modern copper casket, its gray-green lid covered with dust and stone chips, looked incongruous in such historic surroundings. The second stone was free by 11 p.m., and in the interest of time and preservation of the gravestones, it was decided to raise the casket at an angle, rather than remove all four stones and raise it horizontally. With the proper straps attached, the casket was brought to the surface about 11:30 and placed on a table in the sanctuary. How small it looked, even for a child-size casket. There were two lids, an unsealed outer copper one, and a sealed inner glass one. Neither was opened. The sanctuary was tidied, and the church vacated by midnight.

As a rare precaution that night, all doors were barred from within, and final exit was made via a side door in Our Lady of Bethlehem Chapel. The door had two methods of locking: a modern push button lock, and a cumbersome antique lock and key dating from mission days. Both were used, and the antique key, the only one in existence, was entrusted to Most Rev. Thaddeus Shubsda, Bishop of Monterey.

On Friday 13 November, a faint drizzle fell as "Closed for Construction" signs were posted on the main church doors. At 9 a.m., those invited to attend assembled in Mission Carmel's inner quadrangle. Bishop Shubsda unlocked the side door and entered, followed by: Rev. Thomas Kieffer, Orat., Monterey Diocesan Promoter of Justice; Rev. Noel Moholy, O.F.M., S.T.D., Serra Cause Vice-Postulator; Rev. Msgr. Francis Weber, archivist, Archdiocese of Los Angeles; Rev. Francis Guest, O.F.M., Ph.D., archivist, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library; Rev. Msgr.

Eamon MacMahon, pastor, Mission Carmel Basilica; Rev. Joseph Conran, S.J., associate pastor, Mission Carmel Basilica; Osman Hull, M.D., forensic pathologist, Monterey; David Huelsbeck, Ph.D., physical anthropologist, Santa Clara University; Virginia Klepich, Monterey Diocesan Ecclesiastical Notary; Joe Hinojos, official photographer for the 1943 exhumation (Rev. Eric O'Brien, O.F.M., retired Serra Cause vice-postulator, is the only other living 1943 participant, but was too ill to attend); Miriam Downie, daughter of the late Mission Carmel Curator Harry Downie; Edward Soberanes, descendant of an early Spanish family associated with Mission Carmel; and all those present the night before.

The proceedings began with a short prayer. Then, oaths of secrecy were individually administered by Bishop Shubsda, binding until he absolved them. Joe Hinojos was the first called forward to the sanctuary. He stood at the open vault and testified that this was indeed where Serra's remains were buried forty-four years ago.

Richard Menn was then called forward to recount the details of the previous day's vault opening and casket removal. He stressed the fact that the casket was not opened, nor could it have been disturbed during the night due to the intricacies involved in locking the church.

Virginia Klepich, notary for the proceedings, then read aloud from the official "Act" (the account) of the 1943 exhumation. She read a summary prepared at that time by Rev. Eric O'Brien, O.F.M., Serra Cause vice-postulator. Next, a history of Serra's grave prepared at that time by Harry Downie, Mission Carmel curator. Therein, Downie recounted

how the bones had been removed, identified, examined, and reinterred in the new casket. And finally, excerpts from the McCown Report were read, detailing how the anthropological/medical team had conclusively identified Serra's remains.

After measuring the casket to corroborate the 1943 record, Bishop Shubsda raised the outer lid. The inner lid was a bit opaque, but Serra's remains were clearly visible through the glass. The bones were all at one end, having shifted when the casket was raised at an angle.

Now came the crucial moment of "inspect[ing] the box [casket] diligently to verify the identity of the seals . . . to certainly verify that the remains taken out are truly those of the Venerable Servant of God."³⁷ If the seal was violated, all 1943 findings could technically be invalidated, which would stall the Cause indefinitely. The copper wire wound through holes in the fastening bolts of the inner glass was unbroken, and the lead rubric (seal) at the end was intact! Bishop Shubsda and Fr. Kieffer compared the 1943 mold to the seal, and both matched. The Bishop placed the mold (a small crucifix with an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the reverse) into the impression, for a perfect fit.

Bishop Shubsda cut the seal and unwound the wire encircling the inner lid. The bolts were unscrewed, the lid raised, and the remains fully exposed. Dr. Hull and Dr. Huelsbeck came forward and slowly removed the bones, carefully placing each one on a linen-covered table.

When this was done, the other participants were invited forward to



His holiness Pope John Paul II laying a wreath at Venerable Junípero Serra's grave on 17 September 1987. Courtesy Monterey Peninsula Herald.

SEPTEMBER 1988

165



observe. They looked in the empty vault, at the casket, and finally at the bones. One hundred and thirty-two pieces were spread out, a few complete, most fragments, all a discolored medium-to-dark brown. The skull, with well-defined cranial ridges, was only partially intact, the lower face and jaw having been broken when Casanova filled the vault with dirt in 1882.

Reflecting on Serra in this manner imparted a sense of awe. This was the "Apostle of California," a mythic, legendary, and even controversial figure. The paucity of physical remains contrasted sharply with the heroic proportions of a magnificent legacy.

The two doctors meticulously examined each bone, and as they identified it by name, it was checked against a 1943 inventory and compared to photographs taken at that time. From simple visual examination, it was impossible to gather any additional information as to Serra's cause of death.

The experts discovered that the bones had absorbed a bit of moisture, not from the 1943-1987 period, but from 1882-1943, when they were covered with dirt. When they were hermetically sealed in 1943, they were sealed along with the moisture. The floor of the casket had oxidized in part, turning green where the bones had touched its unprotected surface. The decision was made to remove the rubber gasket around the inner glass lid, so that air could circulate when the casket was once again sealed. Also, an electric dryer was brought in, and the bones and casket were thoroughly dried. Had there been more time, the ideal treatment would have been a several-day drying period. This

was discussed and planned for the near future, because once Serra was beatified, his remains would be permanently reinterred in a more appropriate setting, such as in Mission Carmel Basilica's main altar. The bones would be treated again at that time.

The examination was finished by noon. Now began the process of reinterment. The bones were returned to the casket and arranged at one end, to prevent movement when the casket was lowered at an angle into the vault. Small bits of bone were kept aside by Vice-Postulator Moholy, and placed in a small silver box for transport to Rome. The table linen that held the bones was carefully brushed, and the dust placed in the silver box. The linen itself, now a "third-class" relic, was also entrusted to Fr. Moholy.

The copper tube with the 1943 Latin statement, opened and resealed after a 1987 English statement was also placed within, was returned to the casket. Signed by all present, the new statement read:

On the 12th day of November, 1987, in the mission of San Carlos Borromeo del Río, in the city of Carmel, California, the tomb of the Venerable Servant of God, Fray Junípero Serra, O.F.M., was opened and the coffin was removed. On the 13th day of November, 1987, in the same mission the coffin was opened and the bones were examined by Forensic Pathologist, Dr. Osman Hull and Anthro/Skeletal/Paleontologist, Dr. David Huelsbeck. Father Noel Moholy, O.F.M., Vice Postulator for the cause of Father Junípero Serra, O.F.M., took small pieces of bone for future veneration. All the above was done in conformity with the Rescript (Tab. N. 658-30/987) dated July 17, 1987, from the Con-

gregation for the Causes of Saints and the Instruction (July 20, 1987) from the same Congregation in the presence of the undersigned witnesses.³⁸

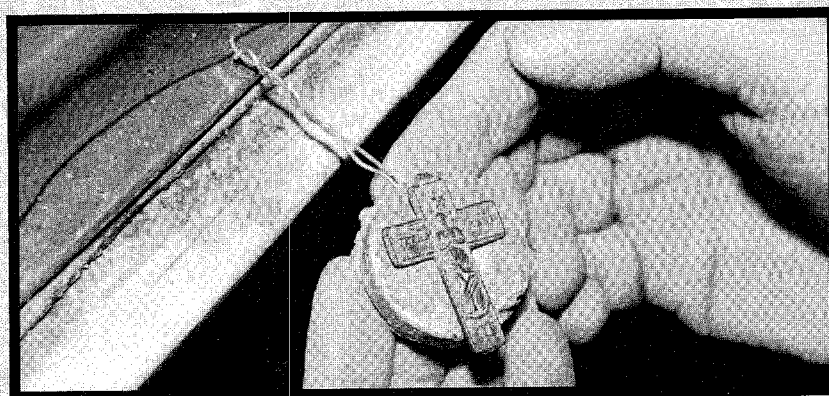
The bolts on the inner glass lid were fastened, and once again wire was wound through them. At the end of the wire, a new lead rubric was poured, and while the metal was still molten, it was stamped with the Monterey diocesan coat of arms (bishop's mitre over Serra's 3 June 1770 Monterey founding cross, planted on a hill over a crown signifying See City etymology [Monterey = "King's Mountain"], flanked by the mission's two bells announcing Christianity's arrival). The outer lid was closed, unsealed as before.

A photograph was taken of the historic assemblage, and then the casket was lowered into the vault. The two large tombstones were refitted, sealed, and the tiles around the grave reaffixed. Bishop Shubsda concluded the ceremony at 2:30 p.m. with a prayer for Serra's beatification.

On 1 December 1987, the full ten-member plenary session of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints voted that Sister Mary Boniface Dyrda's 1960 cure was the result of Serra's intercession, i.e., "miraculous."³⁹ The matter then moved to the Apostolic Palace for Papal consideration.

On 11 December 1987, His Holiness Pope John Paul II confirmed all previous findings and approved the beatification of Venerable, soon to be Blessed Junípero Serra, O.F.M., S.T.D.⁴⁰ That ceremony took place at St. Peter's Basilica in Vatican City on Sunday 25 September 1988. "Non recedet memoria ejus."⁴¹ CHS

See notes beginning on page 205.



Bishop Shubsda inspecting the lead rubic seal of Serra's casket before it was opened on November 13, 1987. He has placed a small cross, the original 1943 mold, into the impression in the lead, for a perfect fit.

Serra's 13 November 1987 exhumation. L-R seated: Ruu Van Nguyen, assistant to the curator; Rev. Noel Moholy, O.F.M., S.T.D., Serra Cause Vice-Postulator; Miriam Downie, daughter of the late Mission Carmel Curator Sir Harry Downie, K.S.G.; Rev. Msgr. Francis Weber, archivist, Archdiocese of Los Angeles; Rev. Joseph Conran, S.J., associate pastor, Mission Carmel Basilica. Standing L-R: Osman Hull, M.D., forensic pathologist, Monterey; David Huelsbeck, Ph.D., physical anthropologist, Santa Clara University; Most Rev. Thaddeus Shubsda, D.D., Bishop of Monterey; Virginia Klepich, Monterey Diocesan Ecclesiastical Notary; Joe Hinojos, official photographer for the 1943 exhumation; Rev. Thomas Kieffer, Orat., Monterey Diocesan Promoter of Justice; Edward Soberanes, descendant of an early Spanish family associated with Mission Carmel; Richard-joseph E. Menn, Monterey Diocesan Curator and Mission Consultant. Courtesy the author.

David Beesley

FROM CHINESE TO CHINESE WOMEN & FAMILIES

Ta Yow, Ah How, Lu Loi, Lonnie Tom, and Fannie Gin were Chinese women who lived in Nevada County, California before 1920. As with most Chinese women in America they do not have a history—if, by this, one means historians have not paid them much attention. Belonging to the first two generations of Chinese in California, they represent an important transition occurring in this overseas Asian community. These women, and a small number of other Chinese immigrants living in the Sierra Nevada, changed from being members of an insular, sojourner-oriented group, into Chinese Americans. If their lives can be considered as representative, by studying them we can broaden our understanding of Chinese immigration to America, and the families that developed from these immigrant origins.¹

The number of women of Chinese descent in the United States before 1920 was small, representing less than 5% of the Chinese who lived in the United States between 1850 and 1924. Until recently, not much has been written about these women, presumably because of a lack of primary source material. But this is not true. Information was available, but historians seemed to have lacked interest in pursuing such research.²

In the 1960s, new attention to the



CHINESE AMERICAN

IN A SIERRA NEVADA TOWN



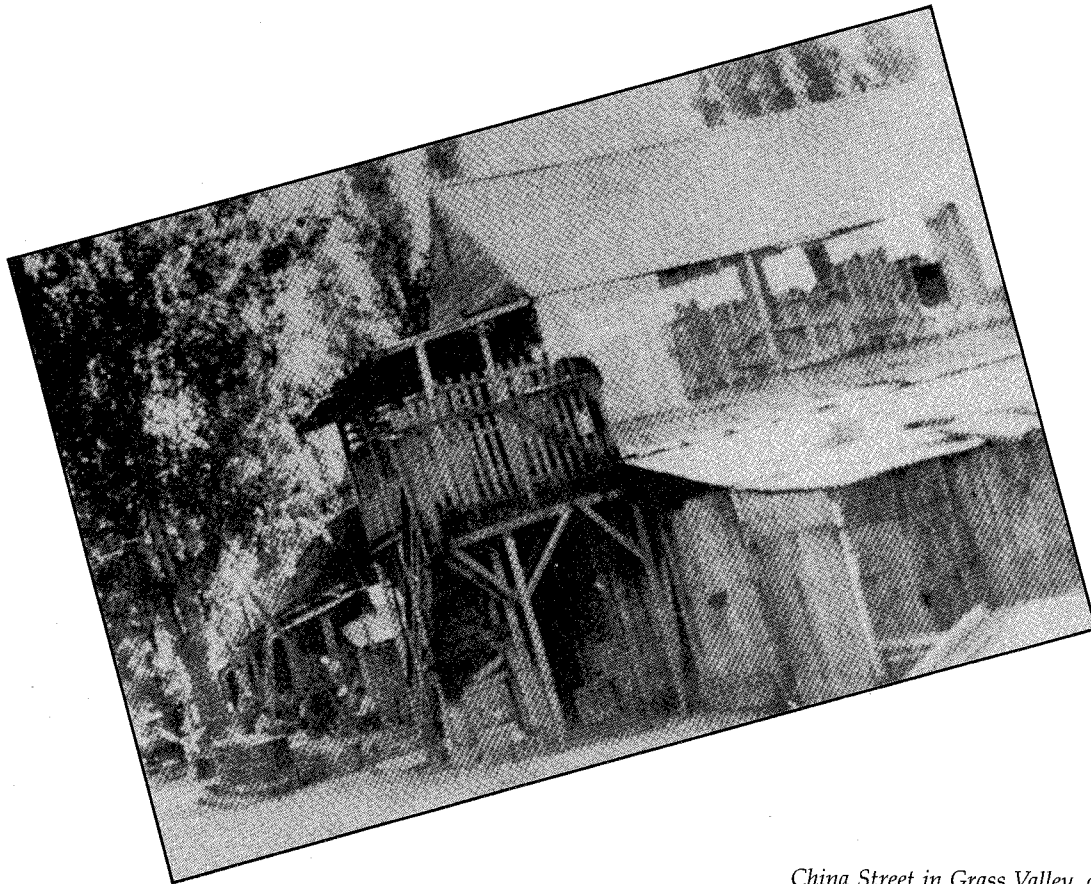
study of ethnic groups other than just Euro-Americans increased, and this interest, coupled with the effects of the women's movement in America, has produced a significant body of new writing concerning Chinese women. In addition, interest in studies of local history—spearheaded by European and American social historians—has served to focus attention on the lives of women such as those mentioned above.³

In Nevada County, California, manuscript census materials from 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900, and 1910 provide data about Chinese women and families. In addition, letters, newspapers, inquests, trial data, published and unpublished secondary data, and oral interviews also illuminate their lives.

The censuses show that at least 400 women of Chinese descent lived in Nevada County between 1850 and 1920. Others went uncounted because census takers tended to undercount when it came to those of Chinese descent. Enumerated or not, these women either came to Nevada County from China, or were children born in the United States to Chinese parents.⁴

Those who emigrated were part

Ah Gin, a successful Glenbrook farmer in Nevada County, with his family. Courtesy the author.



China Street in Grass Valley, date unknown. Courtesy Nevada County Historical Society (hereinafter cited NCHS).

of the 8,800 Chinese women estimated to have come to the United States by 1880. These women of the pioneer generation of Chinese in America made up about 5% of the total Chinese population in the United States. Before 1880, many were likely to have been prostitutes. After 1880 they increasingly were the wives or children of resident Chinese males. Nevada County women of Chinese descent fit this description generally, although some census evidence for female heads of households exists.⁵

Economic development of the Sierra Nevada provided employment for Chinese and non-Chinese

alike between the 1850s and 1860s. The most important economic activities included mining, railroad, and timber related industries, commercial enterprises, and urban service. Most counties in the Sierra Nevada suffered a significant loss of their Chinese residents with the decline of placer mining and the completion of the Central Pacific Railroad. Mining and railroad building had provided the largest number of jobs for the Chinese immigrant males. But Nevada County, along with Calaveras, Mariposa, Placer, Sierra, Trinity, and Tuolumne counties, saw many Chinese remain because of other economic opportunities.⁶

In the case of Nevada County, employment possibilities in the lumber and hydraulic mining industries, vegetable gardening, and domestic or commercial service occupations provided an economic base for the

development of relatively stable "China Towns" in Nevada City, Grass Valley, Truckee, Washington, and North San Juan. It was in, or close by, these urban centers that most women of Chinese descent in Nevada County lived. Their lives illustrate, at least for the other stable Chinese communities of the Sierra Nevada, changes in the Chinese pioneer generation.⁷

The census data from 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900, and 1910 list women of Chinese descent in several different ways. These include an ambiguous designation called "at home," which from context, that is, several young women living together but not listed as wives or children, probably meant that they were prostitutes. In some instances children were given this

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Evidence of an organized boycott of Chinese labor in Nevada City, one which failed in 1882. However, a like effort succeeded in Truckee. Courtesy NCHS.

same designation, but are clearly distinguishable from the likely prostitutes. Only the census for 1870 listed prostitutes specifically. Another category was wife or keeping house.⁸

In 1880, the census listed ten women from Truckee as railroad workers. Because no other women are listed from that busy rail and lumber center for that year, and the women are listed on the same page as a number of male railroad workers, it is reasonable to assume that the census taker was in error. The women probably belong in other categories.⁹

Because most of the women in Nevada County before 1880 were likely to have been prostitutes, and because some of the first wives came from this occupation group, let us consider them first. The manuscript census tells us something about

their ages. The oldest of these women was fifty, the youngest, fourteen; their average age was twenty-four. Some of the prostitutes had young children, listed as born in California. These abstract numbers do not tell us very much about the lives of these women, but recently published studies make it clear that their lives were frequently short and cruel.¹⁰ To give content to their experiences, one has to move beyond the census to newspaper accounts, trial data, and inquests.

These sources show that Chinese prostitutes in Nevada County faced several possibilities in their lifetimes. These included kidnapping or legally supported abduction, violent confrontations with "clients," murder, suicide, or abandonment in sickness. A sixth, and probably more pleasant prospect, was marriage or some other escape from

prostitution. The focus here will be on the first and last of these possibilities.¹¹

The threat of kidnapping or legally supported abduction of women was a common problem. Brothel operators and pimps, aided by lawyers, used illegal and legal methods to seize or secure the return of unwilling women, some of whom could have been legally married at the time they were abducted. For example, in 1861, the Nevada (City) *Journal* reported an attempted abduction of a Chinese woman. As it stated, a man named Ah Wau had been charged with theft by another man called Ah Cut. While Ah Wau was in jail, Ah Cut abducted a woman named Ah Soo who had been purchased earlier



The celebration of Bomb Day, a popular Chinese event, in Grass Valley, date unknown. Courtesy NCHS.

by Ah Wau for \$400.00. Ah Cut then sold the woman for \$300.00. Under protest at his trial, Ah Wau convinced the authorities that he was the victim of a plot.¹²

The court sent for Ah Soo to testify. But Ah Cut arranged for another woman to impersonate her. This woman claimed that she had not been kidnapped, but instead had gone willingly with Ah Cut. Ah Wau, fortunately, exposed the impersonator. After the real Ah Soo was brought to court, she testified that she had been kidnapped by Ah Cut. The judge then dismissed charges against Ah Wau and married him to Ah Soo at their request.¹³

A similar case that year involved the arrest of three Chinese women in Nevada City on a charge of grand larceny by a Sacramento policeman. A newspaper account stated that it was "the usual complaint," implying

that the ruse of charging a woman with a crime so as to have her held until brothel keepers could arrive with a lawyer, was commonly employed. After control was secured, the charges were dropped and the women were forced back into prostitution. The newspaper said, "They are probably abducted, as one of the women has been living as the wife of an industrious Chinaman some months, in this city." The paper commented on the loud wails and lamentations of the women as they were taken away.¹⁴

In 1873, a similar use of the legal system to kidnap a Chinese woman led to violence. Ah Quee, of the mining town of North San Juan, tried to secure control of a Truckee woman named Sin Moy. Under Ah Quee's prompting, the town constable and a four-man posse entered the Chinese section of Truckee to try

to arrest her. The residents of this Chinese quarter formed together to prevent the outsider from accomplishing his purpose. A melee ensued in which about forty shots were fired. Ah Quee and several others were wounded, but Sin Moy was still taken into custody and returned to Ah Quee. A similar incident occurred in Truckee in 1874, and six Chinese were wounded in that struggle. Other battles over control of Chinese women were reported as common in Grass Valley and Nevada City.¹⁵

In 1876, a Chinese woman named We Lane was kidnapped from North San Juan by two men named Ah Goon and J. L. Lockwood. They took the woman to Yuba County, but were compelled to bring her back. In the hearing that ensued in Nevada City, witnesses included Euro-Americans and Chinese, men as well as women. A prominent political



A view of Washington in Nevada County. The community's Chinatown is in the lower right hand corner of the photograph. Courtesy NCHS.

figure and judge from North San Juan spoke in her behalf, suggesting that the woman was probably not a prostitute at the time, but instead married to a local man of Chinese descent.¹⁶

A theme common to these accounts was that Chinese women could be treated as property and coerced into prostitution. One of the women had been kidnapped and taken to Marysville. Others were falsely charged with theft, which could lead to abduction by men using the California legal system. Some of these women were probably married, but were still threatened by such practices. Kidnapping was common in areas outside of Nevada County, as a study of Chinese prostitutes in America shows.¹⁷

This same study also claims that women who had been prostitutes usually were accepted without

stigma after having left the occupation.¹⁸ This was probably true of the women mentioned above, especially Ah Soo and We Lane. In their cases, the incidents ended happily. Others, however, were not so fortunate.

The use of marriage, coupled with arrest, to help secure control of Chinese women was probably employed in Nevada and surrounding counties. This is shown by analysis of a series of telegrams found in neighboring Sierra County. A regular retrieval system appears to have extended from the state of Nevada into the California counties of Sierra, Nevada, Yuba, and Placer. Men of both Chinese and Euro-American descent from Downieville, Nevada City, and Marysville regularly corresponded by telegraph to speed up the process of securing control of women.¹⁹

Three telegrams concerning one

incident in particular illustrate this point. In 1874, a wire was sent from Marysville to Downieville between Fook Sing and Tie Yuen stating: "I saw the woman but have not arrested her. Send marriage certificate." The return from Tie Yuen says: "Will send the certificate next stage." A month and a half later Tie Yuen sent a telegram from Downieville to Nevada City to Fook Sing and an E. Berry asking: "Is the woman in jail or not. If she is I will send money. Answer quick."²⁰

Marriage apparently provided an escape from prostitution for many Chinese women in Nevada County. This marked the beginning of the trend away from that occupation as the dominant pattern



for women of Chinese descent. Information drawn from oral interviews from the Chinese community in Grass Valley, newspaper accounts, and county marriage certificates seem to confirm this. The manuscript census data for 1860, 1870, and 1880 list a small number of women who were either living with men, were wives, or were daughters of women of Chinese descent.²¹

Twenty-seven marriage certificates involving Chinese men and women, primarily from Nevada City, Grass Valley, Truckee, and North San Juan, exist for the time from 1850 to the 1880s. The average age of the women listed on these certificates was twenty-two. For the males it was thirty-one. All were natives of China. Some of these women may have been prostitutes, and a few of these marriages could have

been for the purpose of securing their control. Several newspaper accounts of marriages of Chinese couples, such as a woman named Ah How, and a hotel cook named Ah Sam, show that many of the marriages were clearly legitimate.²²

Some of the more successful vegetable farmers, store keepers, regularly employed laborers, service workers, gamblers, or physicians purchased women or married those who had successfully escaped brothels or the control of criminal tongs. Some of these men may have been already married, but had left their first wives behind in China. Some, having acquired enough money, returned to China, but not before, reportedly, selling the wives they had married in California. If for some reason return to China became impossible, men, who were already married, stayed with their wives ac-

quired in America either as childless couples or raised a second family. There are also stories of men from Grass Valley, who could qualify to visit China and return to the United States under the restrictions of the 1882 immigration law, who brought back women for other men whom they swore were their wives.²³

The earliest census data for Nevada County shows that wives or women keeping house were included in the Chinese population, even if prostitutes predominated. By 1900, prostitutes had disappeared, and wives and California-born daughters were the only women listed. The women listed in the census years from 1860 to 1900, who were not prostitutes, were listed as living with gamblers, physicians, washmen, and merchants.²⁴

Nine women in the 1870 census, including one prostitute, had chil-



A relic from the past. A sign from the Sing Lee Laundry, Chinatown, Nevada City. Courtesy the author.

John Tinlay of Grass Valley. Courtesy the author.

A young Chinese Woman of Nevada City. Courtesy NCHS.

dren. All of these children were California born. Most of these had been given Chinese names, with the exception of one child of a married woman living with a Truckee gambler. Their male child was called Colfax and had been born in California. It would seem that he had been named either for President U.S. Grant's vice president, Schuyler Colfax, or for a town named after him that lay on the railroad line connecting with Truckee.²⁵

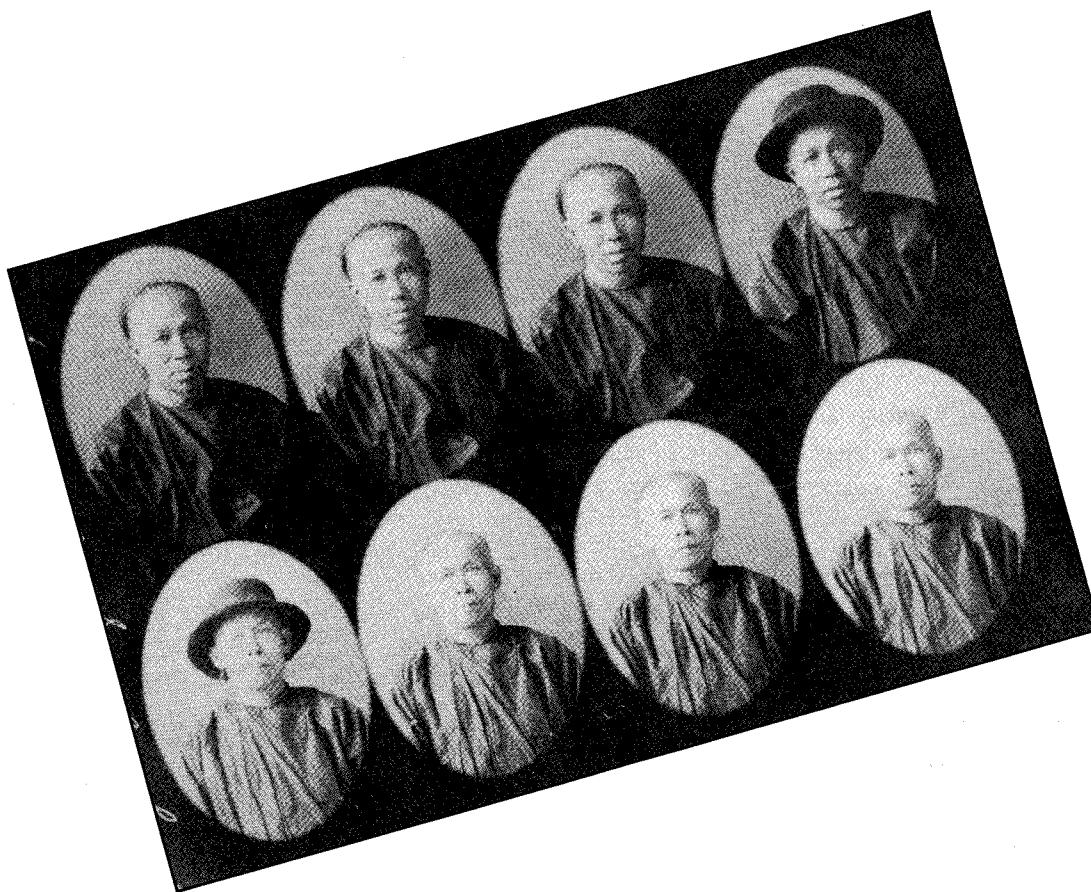
In 1880, forty-one women were clearly designated as wives, keeping house, or daughters in the census. Their average age, excluding daughters, was twenty-nine, making them slightly older than those listed earlier as prostitutes. There were nine female children, all but one being California born. The women listed as wives or at home were associated with men whose oc-

cupations included merchant or grocer, laundryman, carpenter, farmer or gardener, miner, doctor, woodchopper, and banker. Obviously, not just merchants had wives or women living with them. Any occupation which provided a regular income made it possible to establish a relationship in the United States with a Chinese-born woman or marry a California-born daughter of another Chinese man.²⁶

The census of 1900 revealed a fundamental change in the Chinese community in Nevada County. Because of the exclusion acts passed since 1882, the total number of Chinese was drastically reduced. The anti-Chinese movement in the eastern end of the county at Truckee had

driven all Chinese from that area. Similar actions in the western part had failed, however, and hydraulic and other mining continued to provide employment for miners, and income for merchants and service workers. But still, the drop in numbers of those of Chinese descent was significant.²⁷

This reduction was not as readily apparent in the ranks of women of Chinese descent, however. They remained at about 4% of the population. The number of wives was fourteen. Their average age was thirty-six, making them much older than those who had preceded them. They were listed as having fifteen children, all but one born in California. The women reflected the reduced economic opportunities of the area and times following exclusion, since their husbands were miners (probably employers of other Chinese),



merchants, physicians, or farmers.²⁸

This census shows that families had become the reality for the more fortunate of those of Chinese descent in Nevada County. This same data, so ideally suited for quantitative analysis, also lends itself to looking at individuals. In one case, it shows that a daughter of a sixty-three-year-old physician kept house for her father and a 13-year-old brother. Both of these children were born in California. In another, it tells of a woman named Mary Yew, aged thirty-five, who was married to a farmer. They had nine children, four girls and five boys, ranging from age nineteen to age one. Two boys of nine and thirteen were said to be at school. All of the children had first names that were Euro-American and not Chinese.²⁹

In the 1910 census the average age of women had increased to forty-

one. There were more children listed in that year, and all had been born in California. These ranged from the age of twenty-five down to one. Of the fifteen wives listed, eight did not have children. Three of these were beyond child-bearing age, however. Mary Yew was still listed, but now as head of household. She raised vegetables with her children on a farm south of Grass Valley. The occupation category of the husbands of the other women were merchant, miner, teamster, farmer, laundryman, and cook.²⁹

From 1910 to 1920, census data, oral interviews, newspapers, and published secondary sources available on the Chinese of Nevada County, illustrate the changing nature of this small Chinese community. Four areas—Nevada City, Grass Valley, Washington, and You Bet—provided an economic base for

its survival. Instead of a community consisting primarily of bachelor males and a few prostitutes, as it had been from 1850 to 1880, family life was a fact in fifteen cases.³¹

Seven of the families had children, some of whom were attending or would soon attend public schools. A few of these were taking some kind of Chinese language instruction privately in the larger communities. While many of the males heading households had been born in China, most of the women with children had been born in California. In one case, a teamster and his wife, both born in California, had three sons who were also California born. This made for two generations whose direct contact with Chinese culture was limited.³²

Four accounts of Chinese families illustrate the transition that occurred between 1880 and 1920 as descen-



Photographs of two Nevada County Chinese, Wong Sing (lower) and Ah Fi (upper) for purposes of securing re-entry to the United States, a requirement after the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act. Courtesy the author.

Young Chinese man, resident of Nevada City. Courtesy NCHS.

dants of the Chinese-born moved towards becoming American citizens. The process was uneven, old ways conflicting with new, as in all immigrant communities. In 1883, Hi Loy of North San Juan and his wife were charged with cruelty by a Nevada County court. They had tried to bind the feet of their daughter so as to make her more desirable for marriage. As a report in the *Grass Valley Daily Union* said: "It is stated that Miss Hi Loy is soon to be wedded to a Marysville Chinaman and the latter has agreed to pay the fond parents \$600 as a sort of salve to heal the wound inflicted on their feelings by giving up their daughter. They were squeezing her feet down to a small size so she would make a tony appearance on her wedding day." The father was let off from the charge, but the mother was fined for her part in the binding.³³

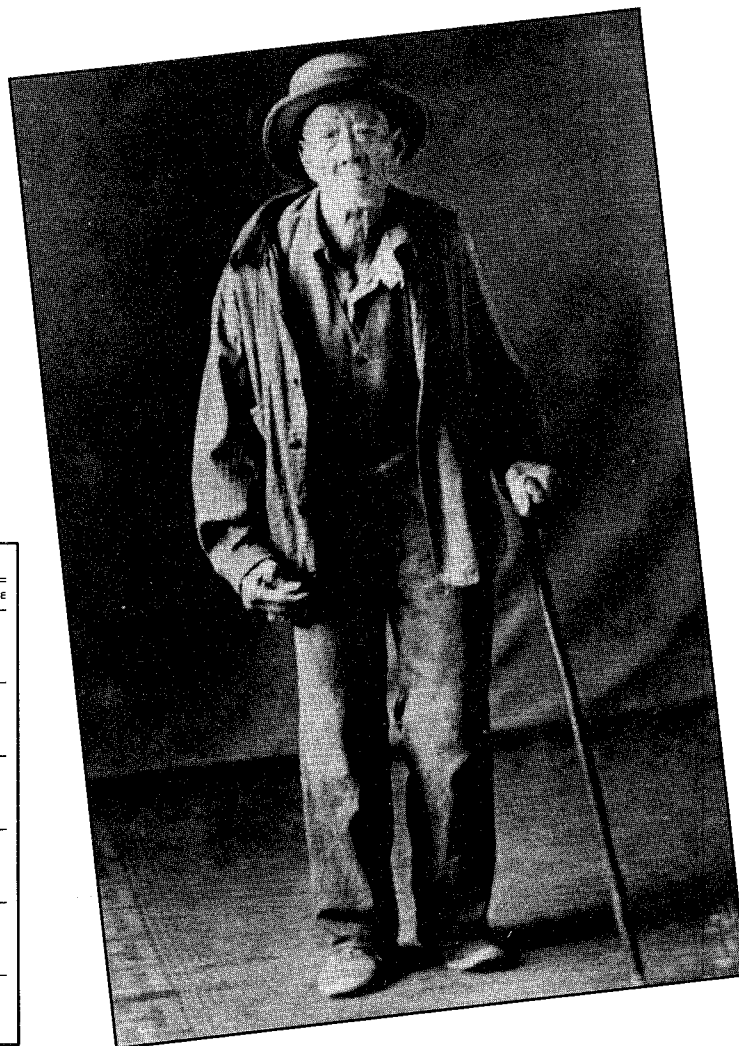
In another case, a hydraulic miner and a merchant named Suey Chung or Fong Lee arranged for marriage in a traditional manner using individuals acting as go-betweens with a family from Marysville. He brought his wife Lonnie Tom back to live with him in the town of Washington. Over the next few years they had several children together, who were all educated in the local public school. Suey Chung not only tried to fit into the community, giving his children American names, but also tried to preserve elements of their Chinese heritage. Despairing of his ability to properly raise his oldest son in the Chinese language, he arranged to send the boy to China. In a tragic incident there, the boy lost his life.³⁴

In another case, Kan Tin Loy who had been a miner, farmer, and grocer, raised a family in Grass Val-

ley. Tin Loy acted at times as an interpreter for the Nevada County Court. As with Suey Chung he tried to maintain a tie to Chinese culture, while at the same time trying to fit in with the American society around him. His daughter, on the other hand, seems to have had other plans. In a report concerning the girl, the *Nevada City Daily Transcript* stated:

Miss Lily Tin Loy, a native American young lady (born of Chinese parents) and a member of the Grass Valley school, has gone to San Francisco and purchased a fine horse and buggy with which she intends to amuse herself and her numerous Caucasian playmates. She and her mother propose to drive the rig all the way home. Some time since while on a visit to China, Lily showed her American spunk by bucking against Chinese customs (foot pressing included.) [sic] Her

CATEGORIES OF CHINESE FEMALES IN NEVADA COUNTY BY CENSUS YEAR							
CENSUS YEAR	AT HOME OR NO OCCUPATION LISTED	PROSTITUTES	WIVES OR KEEPING HOUSE	FEMALE CHILDREN	OTHER	TOTAL	PERCENT OF TOTAL CHINESE POPULATION
1860 8TH CENSUS	54			1		55	.027
1870 9TH CENSUS		109	13	2		124	.048
1880 10TH CENSUS	59		32	9	10 LISTED AS R.R. WORKERS	110	.038
1890 11TH CENSUS	CENSUS INFORMATION DESTROYED IN FIRE						
1900 12TH CENSUS			14	5		19	.034
1910 13TH CENSUS			15	16		31	.118



*father is an ordinary Chinaman who has saved up some money here.*³⁵

The Tin Loy family by the second generation had clearly committed itself to assimilation. In 1913, for example, John, the son of Kan Tin Loy, announced that from that time forward, those of Chinese descent in Grass Valley would celebrate the New Year on January first along with the surrounding Euro-American community.³⁶

Concern over citizenship by another family was demonstrated by a Chinese American couple from Nevada City. They hired a lawyer from there to help them establish the United States citizenship of their thirteen-year-old son Lee Gum Sing. The father, Lee Chung Tai, and his wife, Chun See, provided a birth certificate and a sworn deposition to prove his birth in Nevada City in 1907. The

legal deposition included a photograph of a thirteen-year-old boy dressed in western style clothing.³⁷

Unlike many other communities in California, Nevada City, Grass Valley, Washington, and North San Juan gave opportunities for the children of families of Chinese descent to attend public school alongside those descended from Euro-Americans. In newspaper accounts in which mention of them appears, three children of Chinese descent were listed by the school marshall as attending school in Nevada City in 1865, five in 1870 were listed in Nevada City, and five in Grass Valley in 1871. There are also oral accounts of children of a Chinese-born grocer attending public school in North San Juan before

1920. Suey Chung's children, as previously mentioned, attended public school in Washington.

While anti-Chinese statements are remembered by some students of Chinese descent or mentioned in published sources, many positive accounts also exist. The open nature of the high school at Grass Valley even drew back former residents of the Chinese community such as Ping and On Lee, whose parents had moved to Locke.³⁹

Between 1910 and the 1930s, the Chinese-American community in Nevada County shared in the reduced economic conditions which resulted from the declining fortunes of the major mining towns. Rigid enforcement of laws to control hydraulic mining, utilization of labor saving machinery which brought a reduction in the need for mining and other labor, and a depressed mining



Ah Chu, an elderly resident of Nevada City, one of the town's last Chinese bachelors. Courtesy the author.

Lonnie Tom, wife of Fong Lee, of Washington, Nevada County. Courtesy the author.

economy in general had negative effects on all inhabitants of this area.⁴⁰

A few Chinese-American families and a small number of aged bachelors continued to live in Nevada City, in or near Grass Valley, or in Washington. In the town of Washington the former hydraulic miner and merchant Suey Chung or Fong Lee left for Vallejo when hydraulic mining became impossible. Some families, such as the Kans, left the region for the Bay Area to improve their economic fortunes. In Grass Valley the residents of "China Street," which included a small number of families as well as bachelors, were forced to move when their neighborhood was razed to make room for a parking lot and Greyhound Bus station. Most of these families bought houses and continued to live in the area for several years. Some members of these families eventually moved to San

Francisco or Sacramento, but others remained in the area.⁴¹

Nevada County is one of several California counties included in the Sierra Nevada which has seen a long term pattern for residence for those of Chinese descent. They were first drawn to the area by placer gold mining. The continued economic opportunity which came with railroad construction, the timber industry, and hydraulic, and quartz mining gave an opportunity for many Chinese to remain there. In the time from 1850 to 1920, the nature of this immigrant community changed. At first, it was sojourner-oriented, predominantly male, with most of the few women engaged in prostitution to serve this bachelor society. By the 1920s and 1930s, although some sin-

gle men remained, stranded because of the exclusion laws and poverty, a small native-born community of families of Chinese descent had grown.

This makes the Nevada County, California experience important, because it sheds light on the pioneer Chinese-American community in America. These people of Chinese descent built families against tremendous odds. They survived in an ephemeral mining economy, adapting to changes in sources and techniques. They carved out economic niches, such as farming, and provided needed services. They were hurt by organized anti-Chinese actions mounted at the local, state, and national level, but a few managed to hold on and eventually achieve community acceptance. Theirs is an important part of the story of American immigrant origins. CHS

See notes beginning on page 206.



FRANCES NACKE NOEL AND “SISTER MOVEMENTS”

SOCIALISM, FEMINISM AND TRADE UNIONISM IN LOS ANGELES, 1909–1916

Sherry Katz

In 1948, at age seventy-five, Frances Nacke Noel, a participant for over forty years in labor, feminist, and socialist movements of California commented on her activism.

There is so much to be done and it makes one restless to be no longer young and strong and to go in line with leadership. However, I have already, in a quiet way done a few things which may bear bigger fruit than one expects. It is often astonishing what good—or what damage—one individual can accomplish in this world. So I am keeping at it to the best of my strength and ability.¹

Noel's major goal during her years of organizing was to improve the

All the personal photographs of Frances Nacke Noel used to illustrate this article have been graciously provided by Dr. Knox Mellon from his collection.

Frances Nacke Noel (on the right) with a fellow suffragette campaigning in a novel fashion for the ratification of the California constitutional amendment in 1911 to give women the vote.

position of the working class woman in American society. In order to accomplish this goal, Noel attempted to unite women from the socialist, trade union, and feminist movements in cross-class alliances dedicated to extending women's political rights, establishing women's economic independence, and using the state to enact social legislation which would lead, in time, to women's liberation under socialism.

From the historical study of cross-class alliances among women, a controversy has arisen as to whether or not such endeavors were viable in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.² Frances Nacke Noel's career as an activist in the labor, feminist, and socialist movements in Los Angeles is significant, in part, because it casts light on this problem by pointing to the positive achievements of those alliances in Los Angeles. Thanks to a 1952 interview conducted by Irving Bernstein and two small collections of letters,

writings and clippings, it is possible to partially reconstruct Noel's career as a political activist. After a brief look at her early years, the focus will be on the period of her greatest involvement in cross-class and cross-movement activities by examining her political involvements and the ideas that informed her political practice, with an analysis of the success of cross-class and cross-movement alliances in Los Angeles between 1909 and 1916.³

Frances Nacke was born, January 5, 1873, in a small village in Saxony, Germany. Her father worked as the superintendent of a furniture factory and the Nacke family made its home in the factory complex. Nacke began her working life at the age of twelve by, as she put it, "guarding the children of others." In her late teens she studied to be a kindergarten teacher at a school founded by Froebel. She

also spent much of her time outdoors and considered herself a tomboy naturalist. At age twenty this "adventure loving woman" left Germany "to see the world," her first stop being New York City. In less than a year, young Nacke moved to Chicago, where the economic hardships of the 1893 depression, the brutality of the Pullman Strike of 1894, and the politics of Eugene Debs deeply affected her. These events led to an interest in socialism. When she settled in Denver in 1895, Nacke met others who shared what she termed, a "human" (non-orthodox Marxist) approach to questions of class divisions and social struggle. She joined the Socialist Labor party in 1896 and ran unsuccessfully for a Denver local office on the socialist ticket. She also became interested in feminism. After witnessing the falsification of a working woman's ballot by her employer, the rage Nacke experienced convinced her of the need for women's political independence. While supporting herself by working as a governess, she began to recognize the necessity of women's economic self-sufficiency.⁴

In 1899, Frances Nacke arrived in Los Angeles where she worked as a teacher and waitress. She stayed with Job Harriman, a leading socialist in Southern California and future mayoral candidate, who initiated her into the Los Angeles socialist and labor movements. She then left to visit San Francisco, New York, and most significantly, Germany and Switzer-

land where she met many prominent European socialists including August Bebel and Clara Zetkin.⁵

Nacke feared to marry unless she found "the right father for [her] children." Late in 1902, at the age of twenty-nine, she returned to Los Angeles to marry Primrose D. Noel (who preferred to be called Primm or P.D.), fellow Socialist party member and activist in the labor movement, who also shared Nacke's enthusiasm for nature. The couple had two sons, but the second died shortly after birth. From 1903 on, Frances Nacke Noel held paid jobs sporadically and worked feverishly in the labor, socialist, and women's movements.⁶

The Women's Conference of Los Angeles County, held in 1911, represents Noel's first attempt to bring together middle class and working class women in one unit. The call to form the conference was sent out by representatives of six labor groups including the Women's Union Label League of Los Angeles (Local 36), and the garment and laundry workers. The initiators of the conference were interested in forming a cross-class body of women dedicated to discussing and helping to enact legislative measures which would "offer greater protection for home-life, women and children."⁷

On January 18, 1911, a meeting of over one hundred women decided to create a permanent organization. The goals of the conference included: the establishment of a clearing house of information for women in Los Angeles County; the endorsement of laws and legislative measures concerning the welfare of the home, women and children; the collection of data (especially on the



Frances Nacke Noel in the prime of her life.

working conditions of wage-earning women) and the dissemination of the information compiled to the membership; and the maintenance of a publicity fund. Several issues of immediate concern were child custody for women, housing, working conditions, and protective legislation for women and children. Although conference participants, particularly Frances Noel, envisioned establishing "an immense membership, so that . . . the power of women's influence [would] be felt in every walk of life," there is no evidence that the organization survived after its first few months.⁸

Noel continued her cross-class and cross-movement organizing efforts around the issue of woman suffrage. In November 1910, she had arranged for a meeting between the Votes for Women Club (a mainstream, middle class group) and Local 36 of the Women's Union Label League of Los Angeles. The meeting marked the beginning of cooperation among members of the Label League, various suffrage groups, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union in the 1911 campaign for woman suffrage.⁹ In June 1911, Noel was instrumental in the founding of the Wage Earner's Suffrage League (WESL), which united women from various

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An early photograph of a very young Frances Nacke taken on a trip to Milwaukee, late 1890s.

unions and union auxiliaries, under the leadership of Local 36 and the Los Angeles Central Labor Council, with women active in the Socialist party. Noel recalled that the Central Labor Council, which endorsed woman suffrage in 1909, encouraged her to form a group of working women committed to the issue, and that throughout the campaign "the entire traids [*sic*] union end practically rested with [her]."¹⁰ Noel modeled the Los Angeles WESL on a similar organization founded by Maud Younger in San Francisco in 1909. In 1910, another sister organization had been founded in New York by women active in the Women's Trade Union League.¹¹

Besides recruiting labor movement women into the WESL, Noel also convinced her Socialist party sisters to participate in the organization. Although on a national level the Socialist party expressed ambivalence about working with middle class feminists on the suffrage issue, it appears that most women in the WESL (socialists and trade unionists) saw themselves as the working class wing of the suffrage movement and remained close to the National American Women's Suffrage Associ-

ation (NAWSA). WESL members rejoiced that "womanhood all through the state, regardless of class, color or creed, [had] clasped hands."¹²

The Los Angeles WESL claimed that women wage earners desperately needed the ballot to improve the terrible working conditions under which they toiled. The stated aim of the organization was "to arouse among all union men and women the absolute need of giving this question of votes for women the utmost attention."¹³ Strategically, WESL members focused on reaching out to working class men, as well as women, and their appeals reflected this approach.

*Union men, you have learned that it is for your interest to enlist the wage-earning women into your organization rather than to permit her to be unorganized, and hence your competitor in the field of industry. It is for you also to decide October 10th if it is not wiser to win the women of the working class for your political strength rather than allow them to be an indifferent or competing element against your interests at the polls.*¹⁴

WESL activists believed that in order for women to achieve political equality, working class men had to be convinced that woman suffrage was in their own interests. "The old Adam," Noel wrote, "is not fully dead in individual union men; many still cling

to the worn-out motto that 'Woman's place is in the home.'"¹⁵

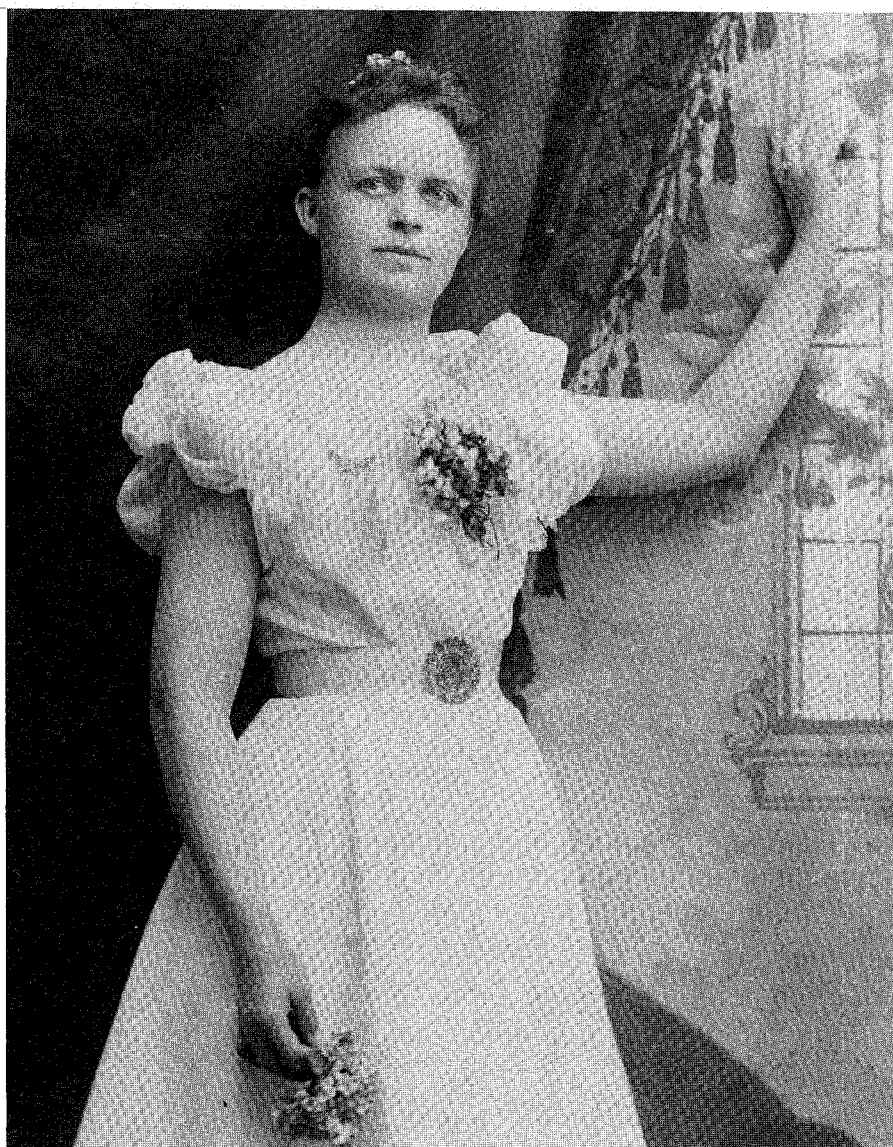
In literature directed more towards working class women, two arguments appeared. The first called for woman suffrage on the basis of simple human justice and equality, while the second proposed that women should have the vote in order to extend their caretaking skills from the home to all of society. These were similar to the arguments of "equality and difference" used by mainstream, middle class feminists. Noel wrote that, "any power wielded by men over the individuality of women is tyranny, not chivalry," thus asserting the natural right of women to their own personhood. Yet she also proposed that "women's great mission is to conserve the home and the life of the race," and that this mission could be enhanced by the participation of women in the political process.¹⁶ WESL literature appealed to women's desire to protect and advance themselves, as well as to their culturally imposed responsibility to guard the family and improve society.

In terms of tactics, WESL activists were extremely innovative. Although suffragists all over California employed "the new flamboyant agitational techniques which would mark the suffrage movement's last phase," WESL members went furthest. They pioneered street meetings and outdoor gatherings for suffrage, visited factories and homes in order to reach working people, and used the labor and socialist press to publicize "the cause." Noel herself rode on horseback carrying a "Votes for Women" sign following the horse-drawn wagon of the WESL. She also initiated "sidewalk campaigning," the practice of catching men outside of

bars (which excluded women) and educating them on the need for woman suffrage. Most dramatically, in July 1911, Noel and other WESL members organized an outdoor meeting in such a way as to circumvent Los Angeles' anti-picketing ordinance, enacted in 1910 to prevent labor and socialist groups from gathering for demonstrations or rallies. Their "picnic" proved very successful.¹⁷

On October 10, 1911, California voters passed the state's woman suffrage amendment. Noel commented that although she and her comrades had worked strenuously, they had gotten "a great deal of genuine pleasure out of [their] campaign. No other movement could ever have brought women of all classes so closely in contact. As one woman expressed it," Noel wrote, "it has done more to kill snobbishness than we can dream of."¹⁸

Prior to the 1911 campaign for woman suffrage, Noel became interested in establishing a local chapter of the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), the most well-known experiment in cross-class political work among women in United States history. In 1909 and 1910, she watched anxiously and enthusiastically as the WTUL contributed to the dramatic garment and shirtwaist makers' strikes in New York City. She initiated formal communication with the WTUL in 1910. At that time, Noel began to receive proceedings from national meetings, including executive committee minutes. In 1912, she established a correspondence and friendship with Alice Henry, editor of the WTUL's journal, *Life and Labor*, and



*Frances Nacke as a maturing young lady.
Date unknown.*

one of its earliest historians. To Henry, she wrote often about attempting to found a branch of the league in Los Angeles, and as early as 1912, Noel wanted to make WTUL work her primary political commitment.¹⁹

Early in 1914, a committee to organize a WTUL chapter in Los Angeles emerged, which consisted of several national members, including Noel, and women trade unionists. Initially, the committee held monthly educational meetings to attract other women to the organization. The third educational meeting in April 1914 was devoted entirely to a "heart to heart" talk between interested women who spoke of the problems and issues confronting them. In 1914, the committee also conducted a drive to register working class women to vote, an effort similar to ones Noel had coordinated in Los Angeles and San Francisco two years earlier. In keeping with the theme of legislation, the local group surveyed

WTUL chapters in other cities for information on the workings of the minimum wage laws in their states. Early in 1915, a series of educational meetings on unemployment attracted club women to the fledgling chapter. Following these meetings, the WTUL, with the assistance of the Central Labor Council and Fred Wheeler, labor leader and socialist city council member, persuaded that body to create a committee devoted to investigating the unemployment problem in Los Angeles.²⁰

Noel wrote to officers and delegates of the National WTUL Convention in June 1915 that the local league had not "prospered as much as I would like to report." She stressed the problems of finding capable middle-class allies, and of involving more female unionists in the group. But offsetting these disappoint-



Primrose D. Noel, a fellow Socialist party member and activist in the Los Angeles labor movement, whom Frances Nacke married in late 1902.

ments were the accomplishments of the Unemployment Committee and the success of the local's strike support work. Female cannery, bindery, and boot and shoe workers had all benefited from the local's energies.²¹

In 1915, the Los Angeles WTUL embarked upon what Noel called its most important work, the establishment of a camp for working women. Under the official ownership of the Los Angeles Recreation League for Wage Earning Women, Camp Aliso, located in San Dimas Canyon of the San Gabriel Mountains to the east of the city of Pasadena, promised to provide cheap and easily accessible vacations for Los Angeles working women. A pamphlet advertising the

camp stated that, "the necessity for play and recreation for all people is an established fact. Our camp provides the opportunity, heretofore unoffered, for wholesome outdoor activities for wage-earning women."²² Camp Aliso was indeed one of the first recreational facilities created to serve working class women, perhaps building upon the Chicago WTUL's practice of organizing weekend excursions to local parks. Unfortunately, a harsh winter that year destroyed the camp and the WTUL was unable to raise the money to rebuild it. In 1916, the young chapter found itself bankrupt and too demoralized to carry on. It donated the camp site to the city of Los Angeles and officially disbanded in 1917.²³

The Los Angeles group appeared to hold views consistent with those of the national organization. The chapter supported a combination of organizing and protective legislation based on the notions that women

were inadequately unionized and biologically in need of protection. Noel felt, as did national officers, that the integration of working women into the labor movement was the most important first step in improving their lives.

*It is only as a collective bargainer that she [the woman worker] can hold her own as a worker. It is through organizing with her co-workers that she learns to realize and understand the principles of social economy which underly [sic] the structure of the work-a-day world. She must organize to maintain the health and self-respect of her sex. She must organize to meet collectively the representatives of government on issues of labor legislation. She must organize to unite with organized womanhood in every walk of life.*²⁴

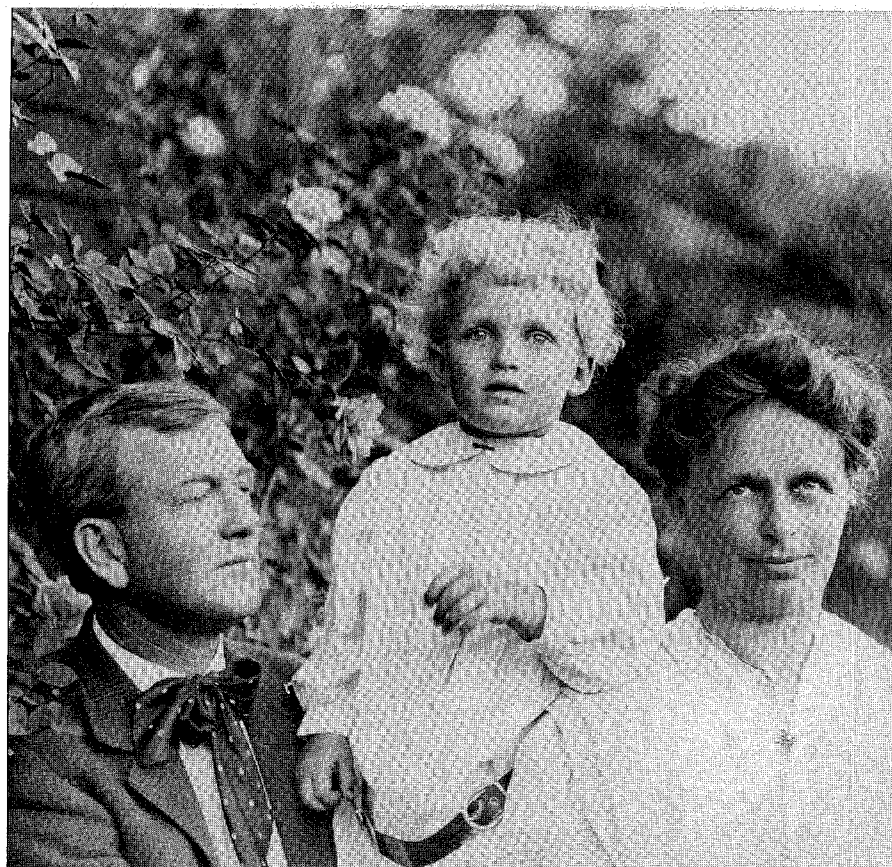
Organizationally, the Los Angeles chapter of the WTUL resembled other local branches. It served as the women's arm of the labor movement and the industrial arm of the women's movement. Yet, the Los Angeles chapter appeared to enjoy a uniquely peaceful coexistence with other labor and women's groups. The *Citizen*, the labor movement's newspaper, regularly devoted space to WTUL articles and activities, and the WTUL's unemployment committee plan was endorsed by the Central Labor Council. Relations with the women's community remained positive, with many members of the Friday Morning Club, one of the oldest and largest women's clubs in the city, attending WTUL educational meetings on a regular basis. There is little evidence of internal tension between workers and allies.²⁵

Between 1909 and 1916, Frances Noel engaged in several other activities that she believed would help

to unite women across class and movement boundaries. She was a prominent member of the Los Angeles women's club movement, served on local and statewide social and industrial commissions, and remained part of the reformist, labor-oriented faction of the Socialist party of California.

As a member of two local women's clubs, the Friday Morning Club and the Woman's City Club, Noel became a prominent advocate of communication between middle class reformers and working class women. Noel reinvigorated the tradition of the Friday Morning Club's involvement with working class women by bringing in speakers on labor issues, and by urging the club to take up investigations of the local employment conditions encountered by wage-earning women. These efforts were at least partially successful, for in 1913 the club, with the assistance of the Central Labor Council, initiated a probe into labor conditions in Los Angeles. Noel also helped to develop a relationship between the mainstream suffrage activities of many of the club's members and the campaign of the Wage Earner's Suffrage League. When the Woman's City Club was founded in 1910, Noel was among its original members. By 1915, she headed its Public Affairs Department and sat on its Board of Directors. In that same year, the Woman's City Club sponsored an educational meeting on female unemployment.²⁶

Frances Noel also served on several bodies which investigated industrial and employment conditions in Los Angeles and California. As a



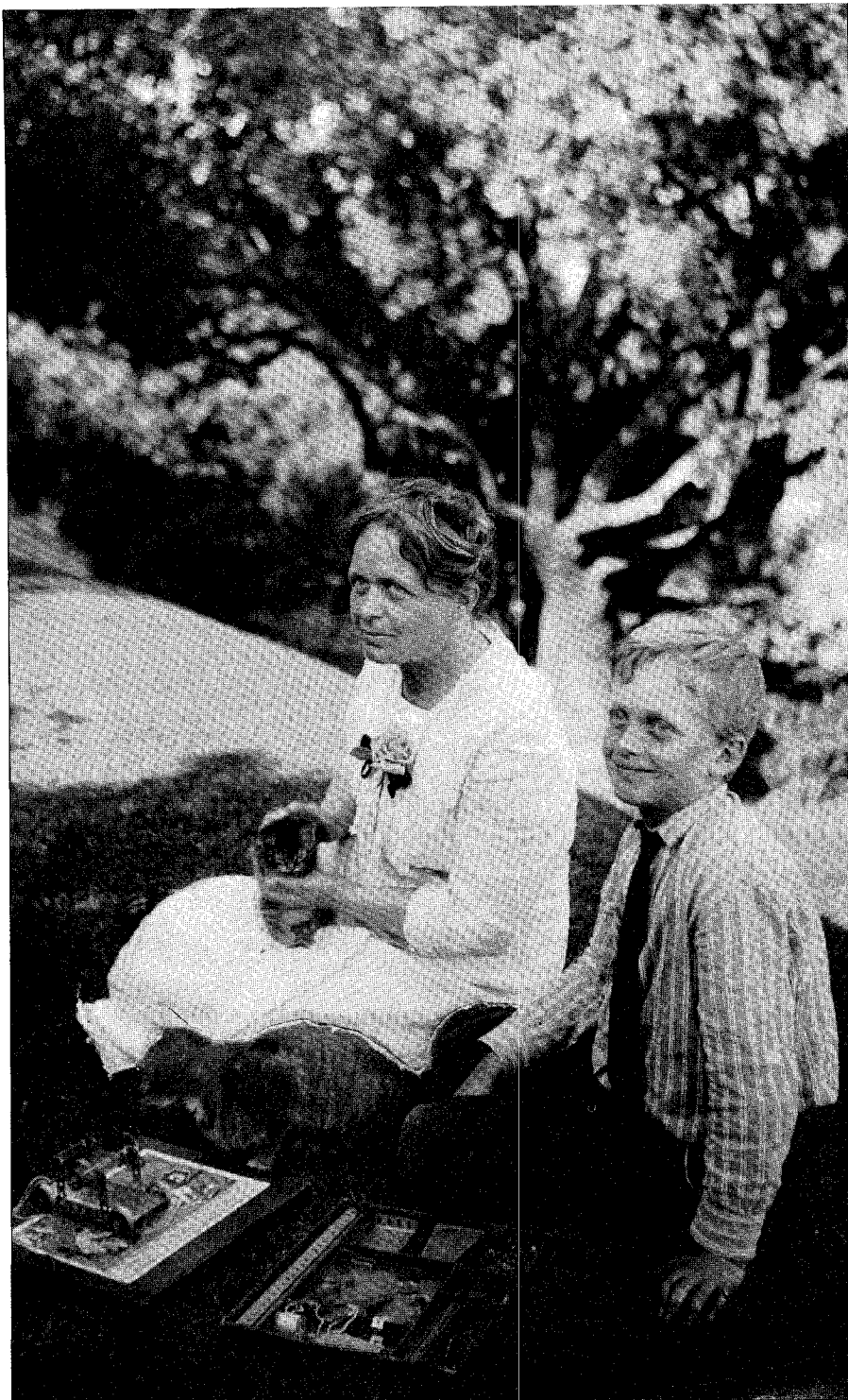
member of these bodies she consistently articulated the concerns of the labor, women's, and socialist movements regarding issues such as unemployment, wages and working conditions, disability coverage, and "social insurance" for women and the elderly. The *Citizen* offered detailed coverage of investigations in which Noel participated and praised her efforts on behalf of workers, women, and the left.²⁷

In May 1913, Noel was appointed to the city's Industrial Commission, which was established, at the urging of the Friday Morning Club and the Central Labor Council, to examine the employment conditions and wages of Los Angeles workers. The body as a whole investigated and reported on conditions affecting all workers, while Noel and another female Commission member developed a supplemental study of the problems encountered by wage-earning women. Noel continued to serve on the Commission when it was permanently established in 1915. She conducted additional investigations and oversaw the administration of the Los Angeles Municipal Employment Bureau.²⁸ Governor Hiram Johnson, at the urging of reformer Katherine Philips Edson, ap-

Primrose and Frances Noel with their only child, Frank, who was born in the early years of their marriage.

pointed Noel to the state's Social Insurance Commission in 1915. Noel spent three years on the Commission investigating and promoting unemployment insurance, disability insurance, old age insurance, and mother's pensions (an early form of Aid to Families with Dependent Children).²⁹

The California Socialist party was founded in 1901, in tandem with the formation of the national Socialist party. In 1902 and again in 1911, the "Fusionists," those believing in the necessity of socialist/labor collaboration, dominated the state party. Labor/socialist unity was especially pronounced in Los Angeles from 1910 to 1914, and the 1911 municipal election campaign represented the highest degree of cooperation between the two groups in California history. Noel ran for city council on the Socialist party ticket in 1913 during the high tide of socialist/labor unity. Although defeated at the polls, she worked closely with socialist/labor city council members Fred Wheeler (1913-1917) and Estelle Lawton Lindsey (1915-1917).³⁰



Frances and her son, Frank, relaxing on the lawn of their Los Angeles home, 1916.

Why did Noel work so single-mindedly for the promotion of cross-class alliances among women and attempt to bring the socialist, feminist, and trade union movements together? She identified two main sources of women's oppression, the capitalist system (which degraded women as workers) and the deeply rooted sexism of men (which she saw expressed in oppressive personal relationships and in political resistance to woman suffrage).³¹ Noel believed

that women and men had to work together for women's liberation. Yet, she often indicted socialist men, whom she regarded as the most theoretically committed to women's equality, for failing actively to promote even the most basic form of political participation for women.

The political enfranchisement of women has been part of the Socialist platform from its very inception. However, the

*equal suffrage clause in the Socialist platform was never during any campaign in this state considered a main issue. It was always a side issue.*³²

Noel believed that while women continued to join forces with men, they had to, simultaneously, work across class lines in autonomous organizations.

Noel argued for a combination of class and gender (cross-class) unity in the struggle to improve the position of women in American society. This two-pronged strategy was outlined best in a 1928 article entitled "Twin Sister Movement of Union Labor." The woman's and labor-movements as twins (with wage-earning women participating in both) could work together to bring about a more egalitarian society, economically and socially.

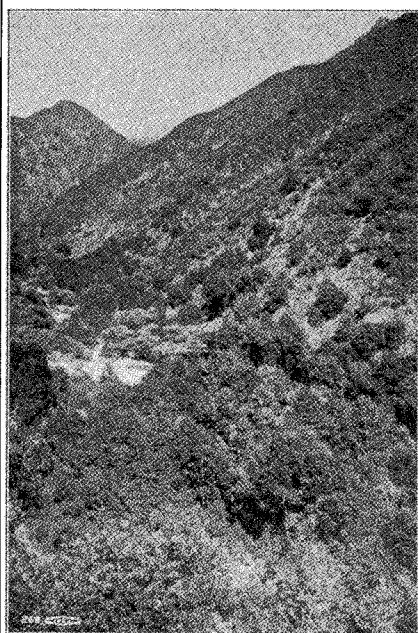
*Both [movements] were created through rebellion against oppression, and both must continue their organized strength to remain as a bulwark against the forces of social life which constantly seek the exploitation of Labor and of woman. Both movements have the highest standards of civilization for their program, and neither can wander far apart from each other without inviting disaster.*³³

She warned that without the full commitment of each movement to the other, change would be very slow in coming.

Frances Noel embodied the ideological synthesis developed between socialist, women's and labor movements in Los Angeles in the early 1910s. All three movements, developing within the context of progressivism, stressed the potentials of social harmony and legislative change, while denouncing the most immediately visible evils of industrial capitalism. They also shared an anal-

Camp Aliso

San Dimas Canyon



Under the Management of the Los Angeles Recreation League for Wage Earning Women

For information address

HENRIETTA HESSELBERGER
President

3820 Pasadena Avenue

Phone 31147

Los Angeles

CHIEF COOK AND BOTTLE WASHER



PURPOSE

The necessity for play and recreation for all people is an established fact. Our camp provides opportunity, heretofore unoffered, for wholesome outdoor activities for wage-earning women.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CAMP

The camp is located in the heart of San Dimas Canyon, 6½ miles from the town of San Dimas. It can be reached by motor in two hours from Los Angeles, or by trolley to San Dimas and then a walk over the Foothill Boulevard to the mouth of the canyon. There one begins to follow a most delightful path through the woods under the alder trees, crossing and recrossing the refreshing, fascinating stream before reaching the camp.

OFF FOR A HIKE



Advisory Committee

Jennie C. Haisch, President Garment Workers.
Gertrude Reinhardt, Waitresses.
Helen Zuhlke, Household Workers.
Mrs. William B. Middleton, Nurses.
Miss Eleanor Sweeny, Stenographers and Office Help.
May Saunders, Printing Trades.
Mrs. Marie J. Steckenbaugh, Laundries.
Mrs. Rose Waggoner, Saleswomen.



"TEN MINUTES FOR REST"

ysis of women's oppression and women's proper social roles which represented a transitional moment between the ideas of gender difference which were dominant in the nineteenth century and those of sexual equality which took hold in the twentieth century. On the one hand, special emphasis was placed upon women's nurturing nature and the calling of motherhood; on the other hand, women deserved and were capable of complete social and political equality. With respect to the nature of female oppression, these three groups agreed that economic and political constraints kept women from achieving social equality. Both in theory and practice, they supported woman suffrage, protective legislation for women and (in limited ways) the organizing of women into unions.³⁴

In Los Angeles, there also appears to have been consensus on how society would be transformed. The temporary achievement of labor/socialist unity provided a working model for social change which relied on the or-

ganization of workers by the unions and the politicization of all people by the Socialist party. Together they could enact local changes which would prepare for socialism on a larger scale. Although many women's movement activists never became socialists, they possessed similar social concerns and worked with the socialist/labor bloc in investigations of local labor conditions, and in the campaigns for protective legislation and suffrage. In Los Angeles, at least, cross-class alliances among women worked between 1910 and 1916. Women engaged in a type of political separatism which was relatively well received even by male socialists and trade unionists.³⁵

Prior to 1916, when labor/socialist unity broke down, Los Angeles appeared to provide an environment for the collaboration of socialists, trade unionists, and feminists on issues of gender and class. This does not mean that there were no tensions, but simply that, for a time, limited ideological harmony allowed for joint political practice. Admit-

A promotional pamphlet issued to advertise Camp Aliso situated in San Dimas Canyon which was sponsored by the Los Angeles Recreation League for Wage Earning Women. Courtesy Department of Special Collections, University of California, Los Angeles.

tedly, reformist strategies and an ideology which failed to address the role of the family in circumscribing women's lives provided an easy route to unity.³⁶ Relative harmony made possible the near electoral dominance of socialists and trade unionists (with the help of feminists), in Los Angeles in 1911 and again in 1913.

Several factors may explain the unique position of Los Angeles. The weakness of the labor movement could have paved the way for unity with a thriving socialist movement. Additionally, many trade unionists were also socialists or felt sympathy for the party. The local women's movement, well established by 1910, had been initiated by Christian socialists and was concerned from the first with the plight of working



A group of volunteers building Camp Aliso, situated in San Dimas Canyon, some six miles east of Pasadena, September 1917.

women. The temporary marriage of these groups developed, it seems, from the exceptional influence of socialists in Southern California and out of political necessities created by the weakness of labor in Los Angeles.³⁷


On a national level, it has been argued that ideological and practical unity did not exist among socialists, feminists, and trade unionists in the 1910s. Some historians believe that socialist and trade union women stressed class consciousness, militancy, and fundamental social changes which reached beyond the alterations in women's status advocated by middle class feminists. These class differences manifested themselves, within the WTUL for example, in the advocacy of female unionization by working class women vs. legislative reform preferred by middle class activists. Frances Noel's experience suggests that ideological and pragmatic compatibility among women and between movements may not have been unusual in the early twentieth century.³⁸

Although Frances Noel remained involved in the labor and women's movements through the 1920s, 1916 marked the end of her cross-class and cross-movement ventures. By that time, tensions between socialists and trade unionists, expressed through labor's political realignment with California's Progressive party and the national Democratic party, meant that these two groups would no longer work closely together. Disagreements over United States' involvement in World War I also drove socialists and trade unionists further apart while political repression led to the decline of the Socialist party. In addition, the splintering of the feminist movement after the national suffrage victory may have made local cross-class work among women more difficult in the 1920s.³⁹

During the late 1910s and early 1920s, Noel's energies were directed towards consolidating an organized female presence in the labor movement. With the assistance of female trade unionists and working class housewives, she founded the Conference of Union Women of Southern California, a Women's Commit-

tee within the Los Angeles Labor Council, and a Women's Annex to the Labor Temple.

In the late 1920s and 1930s, Noel focused her energies on the issue of birth control. She served as president of the Los Angeles chapter of the American Birth Control League, and helped to establish one of the first birth control clinics in the United States. Within the primarily middle class birth control movement, Noel's class background and former political affiliation were probably unusual.⁴⁰ Despite the non-cross-class nature of these political involvements, in 1928 Noel still articulated her lasting interest in women's cross-class alliances. An article published in a labor yearbook stressed the necessity for wage-earning women to combine with their middle class sisters.⁴¹

For Frances Nacke Noel, socialist, feminist, and trade unionist, working class women were her "main interest in life." In the early 1910s, Noel participated in socialist, feminist, and labor struggles in a way made possible by a degree of ideological compatibility on questions of gender, methods of social transformation, and (to a lesser extent) on issues of class that has not existed since. Temporarily, the Los Angeles experiment in cross-class organizing among women proved successful—in the woman suffrage campaign of 1911, in the accomplishments of the WTUL, and in community investigations of social problems such as unemployment. Yet by 1916, the preconditions for ideological and practical unity had passed. Frances Noel would dedicate the rest of her life to the women's movement and the labor movement, but at different times and in separate ways. 

See notes beginning on page 207.

REVIEWS

Edited by James J. Rawls

Junípero Serra's Legacy.

By Martin J. Morgado. (Pacific Grove: Mount Carmel, 1987. 251 pp. \$35.00 cloth; \$14.95 paper.)

The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide.

By Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry Costo, editors. (San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press, 1987. 233 pp. \$8.50 paper.)

Reviewed by William S. Simmons, Professor of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley and author of *Spirit of the New England Tribes: Indian History and Folklore, 1620–1984*.

Father Junípero Serra (1713–1784), who founded the first nine missions from San Diego to San Francisco, may become California's first Roman Catholic saint. Shortly after Serra's death at Mission Carmel in 1784, his garments were thought to have caused miraculous cures. He was first proposed as a candidate for sainthood in 1934. In 1985 Pope John Paul II declared Serra to be a "venerable," the first of three steps necessary for canonization. Pope John Paul II beatified Father Serra on September 25, 1988 in Vatican City—thus completing the second step. After beatification, one more miracle must be attributed to Serra's intercession before he can become a saint. Beatification does not necessarily mean that he will go on to canonization, for in addition to the more strictly spiritual evidence, there is also the question of whether a candidate would be good for the contemporary era. This is where the Serra case becomes difficult because there are polarized views on his worthiness for sainthood. These two books, both of which were inspired by recent events in the canonization process, reflect these opposed points of view.

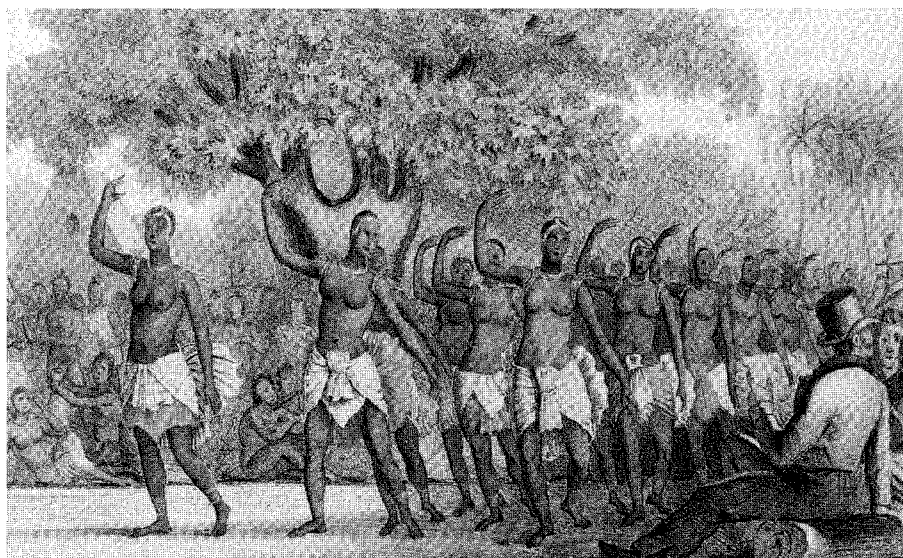
Martin J. Morgado's volume is a history of Junípero Serra's career and influ-



ence with a particular emphasis on what the author describes as his "material legacy." The purpose of this book, as described in the Preface, is "to begin to identify, document, and describe Serra's 'possessions' that are still in existence today." The material legacy accounted for in this book includes, in addition to whatever Serra "used, touched, and valued," an evaluation of the background of all known prints and paintings of this famous Franciscan missionary. The greater part of this work is concerned with documenting "every extant Mission Carmel artifact that Serra either personally used, or that belonged to the mission

An 1884 "Admission Day Souvenir" card depicting Fr. Junípero Serra, "The Pioneer of Pioneers," published by the Sacramento Daily and Weekly Bee. CHS Collections.

during his lifetime." This survey does not include an itemization of Serra's written legacy such as his letters and sermons, although Morgado draws upon such material as well as upon the writings of his biographer, Francisco Palóu, to establish historical context. The volume is generously provided with 110 fine illustrations (many of which are in color), numerous maps, an informative glossary, and an index. The four chap-



ters follow a chronological order from Serra's early life in Mallorca (1713–1749), to his missionary experiences in Mexico (1749–1769), to his pioneering efforts in California (1769–1784), to *post-mortem* events such as his progress toward sainthood, and the subsequent history of Mission Carmel (1784–1987). According to Monsignor Francis J. Weber, who contributed the Foreword, Morgado wrote this book during “the rare leisure moments of a legal career” and completed it for the visit of Pope John Paul II to Carmel in 1987. Anyone interested in the material legacy of California's missions will find this book attractive and absorbing. Reading it will greatly enhance one's ability to appreciate a visit to Serra's home, headquarters, and burial place at Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Río Carmelo. The focus on material culture enables the reader to enter that distant eighteenth-century world of the Franciscan missions in a way that the written word alone cannot easily accomplish.

This reader was particularly struck by two of Father Serra's possessions (in addition to such fabulous and well-illustrated items such as the Bucareli Monstrance and the Serra Indian Reliquary), that dramatically illuminate aspects of the *mentalité* that inspired California's Franciscan missions. The first is the iron and braided-wire *disciplina* that now hangs above Serra's bed in his recon-

structed cell at Carmel. The second is the large stone illustrated in Serra's right hand in the woodcut engraving from Francisco Palóu's *Relación histórica*. The disciplina he used to practice self-mortification, which he did “beyond” regulations. The stone he used to pound his chest, also to punish himself and to move his hearers to penance for their sins. These and other examples of self-mortification were intended to improve one's relationship with God by renouncing worldly and bodily comforts. Explicit here is a struggle between flesh and spirit, between this world and otherworldly concerns. Eighteenth-century Franciscans, including Father Serra, elevated spiritual above physical well-being, and saw suffering, privation, and death as necessary and even desirable sacrifices toward greater spiritual goals. In his rejection of bodily comforts and his self-punishing practices, Father Serra was an exemplary symbol of the mission worlds that he helped create, where lives were less important than souls. The suffering, disease, culture-shock, demoralization, and harsh discipline that mission authorities introduced into California Indian life were, from the Franciscan point of view, hardships on the road to spiritual rehabilitation. Small wonder that a number of California Indians look back at the mission era, and on Father Serra's role in the colonization and con-



José Cardero, artist for the Alejandro Malespina expedition, drew these three sketches in 1790 depicting Esselen or Rumsen Indians, the local native populace living in the environs of Monterey. Plates are reproduced from Donald C. Cutter, *Malespina in California* (San Francisco, 1960).

version process, with ambivalence and resentment.

This brings us to Rupert and Jeannette Henry Costo's powerful challenge to Father Serra's case for canonization. Whereas Morgado noted the more peaceful and harmonious aspects of Mission Indian life, the Costos and their many contributors speak of the indignities that the mission form of colonization wrought upon California's Indians. The Costos, founders and editors of The Indian Historian Press, inform the



reader that this book was born out of the necessity to reveal "the truth" about Father Serra, in the context of the project for his canonization.

The authors of *The Missions of California* offer a broad range of objections to Serra's case. In his account of "The Indians Before Invasion," Rupert Costo dispels some of the widely held stereotypes about California Indians (for example, that they had no indigenous government, sense of property, laws, and marriage systems) that served as rationalizations in the past and present for their colonization and conversion. In her chapter on "The Sword and the Cross," Jeannette Henry Costo asks why Serra never addressed the problem of rape of Indian women, which, she attests, was not infrequent at all the missions. Furthermore, she argues, life in the mission communities was oppressive in other ways, as can be demonstrated by Indian-led revolts by such leaders as Yozcolo and Pomponio. A

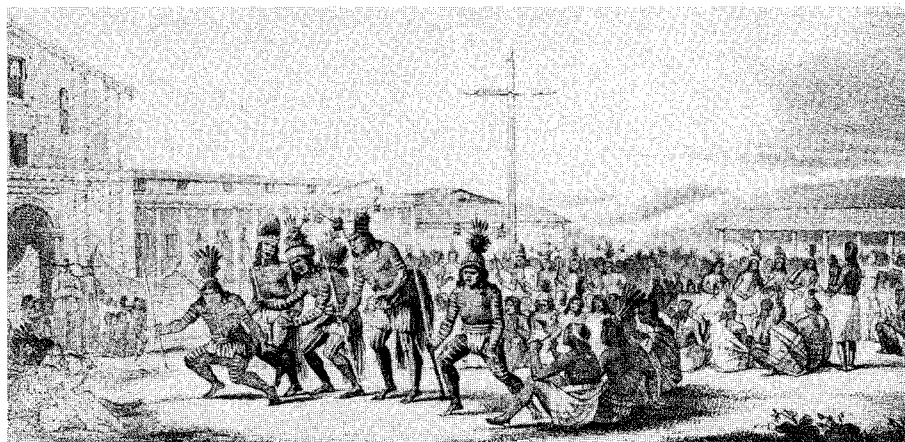
number of Indian and non-Indian scholars (Professor Florence C. Shipek, Edward Castillo, James A. Lewis, Dr. Thomas L. Jackson, and Professor Jack Norton) contributed chapters that document such matters as forced labor, exploitation, malnutrition, population decline, harsh punishment, and other hardships endured by the California Indians who lived under the mission regime.

An interesting part of this volume (Part Five) is a series of testimonies, mainly by persons of California Indian ancestry, regarding the mission period. Many of these are oral traditions that Rupert Costo collected from living people of Mission Indian descent, that attest to the harsh side of mission life. They convey a sense of mourning and resentment for the sufferings of their ancestors. One spokesperson in Part Five, Father P. Michael Galvan, of the diocese in Oakland, is descended from the same Indian community that lived closest to

The drawing, probably by José Cardero, though unsigned, details a Spanish California soldier's dress, arms and armament in action against local natives who are on the defensive. Plate from Cutter, Malespina in California.

Serra's Carmel mission. Galvan notes that to beatify a person who represents eighteenth-century missionary approaches would be problematic, for in his opinion, such a model should not be emulated in the present-day Church.

The Costos have included in their Appendix the views of nine authorities, who at the request of Bishop Thaddeus Shubsda of Monterey, attempted to answer critics of Father Serra's canonization. These authorities argue in favor of Serra's treatment of Indians and the benefits that colonization and conversion brought to the native California people. Among the most interesting selections in the Appendix is that by the Reverend Francis F. Guest, archivist of the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library. He ar-



Indians at Mission Dolores in their native dress, performing a dance for the entertainment of the visiting Russian expedition commanded by Otto Kotzebue in 1816. Drawing by Louis Choris in Voyage Pittoresque Autour du Monde . . . (Paris, 1822).

gues that Serra and the Franciscans should be evaluated against the broader background of the history of Christian conversion of native people in the Old World and in their eighteenth-century context. With regard to this latter consideration, Guest points out, it was customary in eighteenth-century Hispanic households for parents to whip young children, and even adult children, for misbehavior. He adds that "The step from punishing adult children in a Spanish home to punishing adult wards in a Spanish mission in Upper California was not, for Spaniards of that time and culture, a long one to take." Of course the Spanish cultural context is only part of the overall picture. Indians were also an important element in eighteenth-century mission society, and they too, must be heard. The Costos and their contributing authors tell us that Indians did not invite such treatment, they didn't like it, they resisted it, and they haven't forgotten it.

The Costos are to be credited for having brought the Indian view into the open. The memories of their fall from the indigenous ways of life are still alive in their minds. Missionaries such as Father Serra did impart some of the knowledge (practical, social, and religious) that California Indians would need to survive in the Euro-American colonial world. Serra may even have been the kindest vanguard of an unkind historical process. Whether he was the cutting edge of colonization, or its buffer, Father Serra symbolizes to many Indians the

demise of their ancestral civilization, the hardship of eighteenth-century missions, and the premise that Indians and their cultures are inferior to Europeans.

Californiana IV: Aportación a la Historiografía de California en el siglo xviii.

Edited by W. Michael Mathes. Colección 'Chimalistac' de libros y documentos acerca de la Nueva España, Nos. 45, 46. (Madrid: Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1987. 2 vols. \$120.00.)

Reviewed by Francis F. Guest, O.F.M., Ph.D., archivist Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library and noted historian of the California mission era.

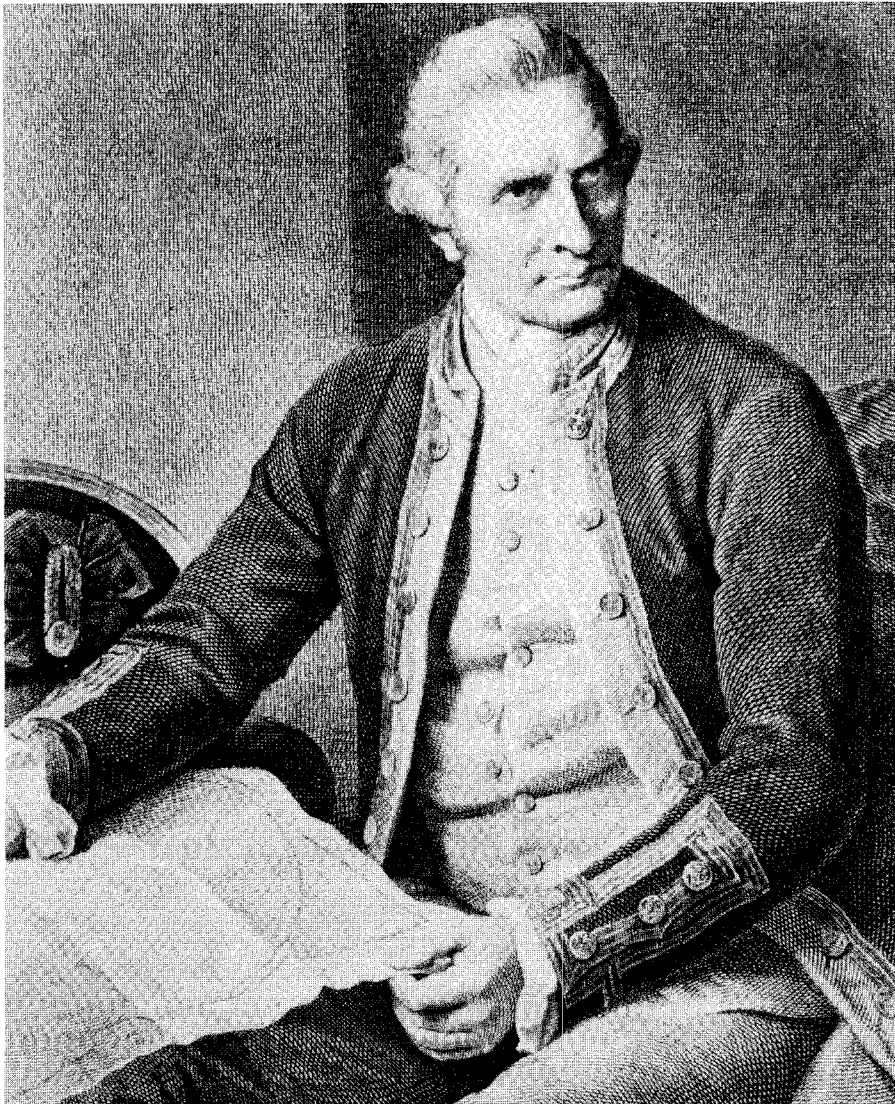
In these two volumes Professor Mathes continues his valuable work of editing studies in the history and geography of the Californias by Spanish scholars of the eighteenth century. This time the emphasis is on Upper California and the documentation is centered around the dispute between Spain and England on colonial rights to the possession of the northwest coast of America

in the neighborhood of Nootka Sound.

In response to the claims made by Captain James Cook in 1779 and in defense of the Spanish title established between 1774 and 1779, Fray Iñigo Abbad y Lasierra, a Benedictine scholar, wrote, in the year 1783, a learned treatise describing the coast of both Californias up to the Strait of Anián, which for him meant the Bering Strait. In this work he included chapters on the Jesuit missions in Lower California, the Spanish settlements in Upper California, the voyage of Captain Cook in 1779, the discoveries of the Russians, and their commercial activities in Canadian and Alaskan waters. Fray Iñigo upholds the rights of Spain to the disputed territory. In the present text Fray Iñigo's treatise covers approximately 100 pages.

In 1789, the Spanish government, observing the possibility that she might lose the disputed territory, sent to the coast of the North Pacific a scientific expedition under the command of Alejandro Malaspina and José Bustamante. The cosmographer of this expedition, Felipe Bauzá y Cañas, was most probably the author of Documents II and III of the present collection, each treating the same subject from a different point of view. Document II provides a physical description of the coast of Northwest America and an account of conditions in the Internal Provinces. Document III consists of political reflections on California and the Internal Provinces. Bauzá visualized Monterey as the principal port for the commercial development of California, which he regarded as more important than the Internal Provinces. He also favored free trade and peaceful expansion which he thought would be prudent in view of Spain's numerous enemies and limited military power. Document II extends to 110 pages. Document III to ninety.

The final document in this collection was written in 1793 by Fernando Faxardo Covarrubias, who was most probably an accountant in the office of the royal treasury in Mexico City. The material in the



document falls naturally into three sections: the history of California from 1535 to the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, a general account of the administration of all the California missions, Jesuit, Dominican, and Franciscan, and a detailed treatment of the economic status of the missions at the time when the document was written. The author includes tables detailing income and expenses both for the missions and the Pious Fund.

Professor Mathes identifies the archives from which he obtained the document he has edited, provides a general bibliography for the entire collection, and includes a glossary of geographical

Captain James Cook (1708-1779) who was the first non-Spaniard to explore the Pacific Northwest Coast in 1778-1779.
CHS Collections.

and proper names, a key to abbreviations that occur in the documents, a list of weights, measures, and monetary values, a general introduction to the entire collection, illuminating introductions to the studies of each of the three authors, and a bibliography of the works cited by the first two authors of the collection. The index is analytical and abundant.

The bibliography of Fray Inigo Abbad y Lasierra indicates an unusually high

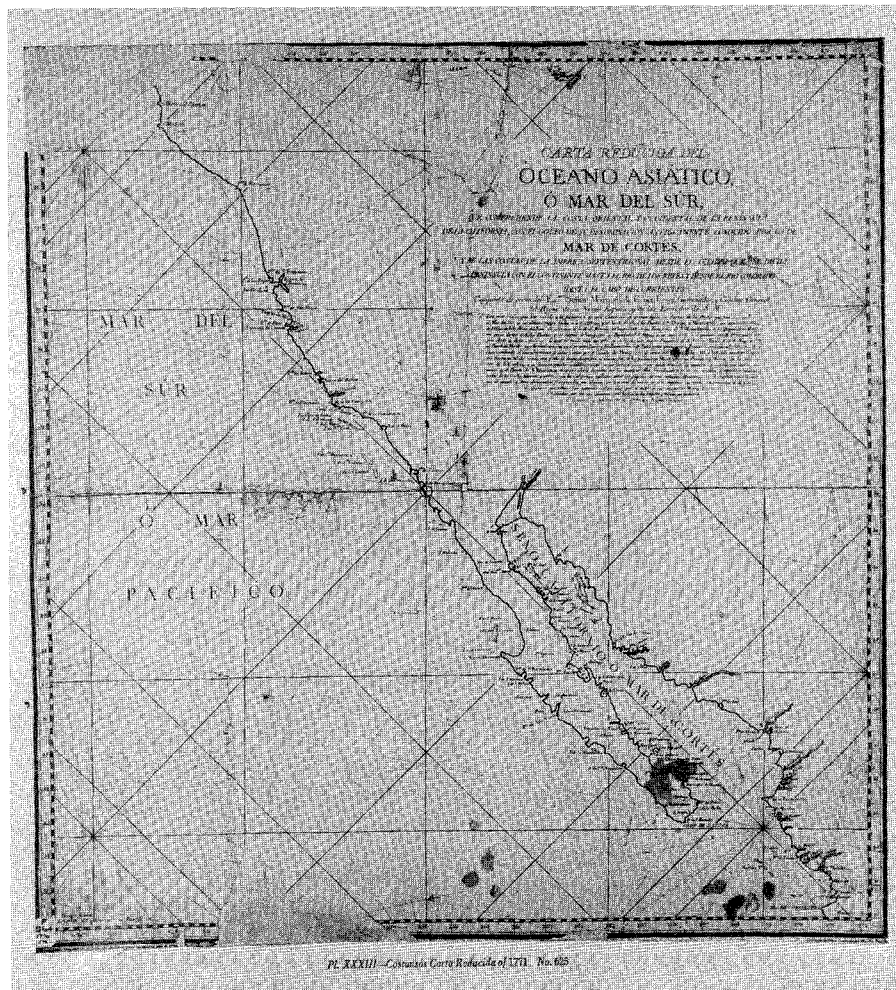
level of historiographic scholarship and methodology for the time. Although the treatise suffers from some errors and omissions, it must be considered, when viewed in the context of the time, one of the most learned of the eighteenth-century studies on California. The scholarship of Felipe Bauzá y Cañas, in his two works on California and the Internal Provinces, is in much the same class as that of Abbad y Lasierra. The history written by Fernando Faxardo Covarrubias, less learned than those of the first two authors, bears some resemblance to the report written by the Dominican missionary, Luis Sales.

In the course of reading these documents, one comes upon passages which, in view of present discussion of early California history, are of more than ordinary interest. For example, Fray Inigo Abbad y Lasierra, in describing the Indians of the area immediately east of San Francisco Bay, points out that, with their fishing, hunting, seeds, and fruits, they had an abundance of food which they could enjoy without working and hence would not wish to be located in a distant mission. Then he says, "... and it is necessary that new missions be established in those places in which the Indians have their dwellings, for to take them away is but to do them violence, and they will not subsist" (p. 87).

Again, Felipe Bauzá stresses the point that a missionary was not afraid, in California, "to travel alone for forty and fifty leagues or to visit [alone] the rancherias of the Indians. And the native, even though not a convert, did not cease to come daily to the missions or the presidios to ask either for food or for a day's work, and the response he met with was prompt and gratifying" (p. 189).

On page 246 Bauzá emphasizes the point that a right philosophy, daughter of a pure religion, will take the necessary precautions not to infringe the inviolable rights of Man.

We are grateful to Dr. Mathes for making available to us these interesting and valuable studies on the Californias. □



Miguel Costansó, cartographer and engineer with the Portolá 1769 expedition, produced this 1771 map of the California coast. Reproduced from Henry R. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America* . . . (2 vols., Berkeley, 1937), 1:167.

The Development of Law in Frontier California: Civil Law and Society, 1850–1890.

By Gordon Morris Bakken. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985. 162 pp. \$32.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Michael Griffith, Court Archivist, United States District Court, Northern District of California.

Gordon Bakken's book investigates an important and underresearched area of California history. However, failure to push the analysis far enough prevents this pioneering work from being fully successful.

Despite the availability of records, scholars have neglected the history of law in California until recently (as is true of the legal history of the West generally). Christian Fritz's University of California, Berkeley doctoral dissertation on nineteenth-century federal courts, Lawrence Friedman's and Robert Percival's writings on state courts in Alameda County, and Arthur McEvoy's prize-winning *The Fisherman's Problem: Ecology and Law in the California Fisheries, 1850–1980* are the noteworthy exceptions. Nonetheless, the potential of California legal history has scarcely been tapped.

In his introduction, Bakken describes this book as the first of a projected four volumes on California legal history. It concentrates on civil law: contracts, torts, landlord-tenant law, mortgage law, the law relating to credit, and, in a brief section, admiralty law. It appears that the three volumes to come will take up "the allocation of natural resources, the public law, and criminal law," besides contract, the "fundamental topics" of late nineteenth-century California legal history according to Bakken.

Bakken's work rests mainly on two sources: the opinions and manuscripts of the California Supreme Court. Bakken has clearly read widely in Supreme Court opinions, and on occasion he makes statistical analyses of the results. (I suspect Bakken has read *every* Supreme Court opinion dealing with civil law from 1850 through 1890, but the "bibliographic essay" does not discuss primary sources used in the book.) As far as manuscripts are concerned, Bakken appears to have utilized the papers of merchants and other litigants rather than collections generated by attorneys. Collections are cited from the Huntington, Bancroft, and California State libraries.

Generally each chapter does two things: under a general heading such as torts or mortgage law, it provides examples of the different transactions or situations from which litigation emerged and it also discusses Supreme Court rulings in each area. Thus, in the chapter on contracts, we learn of the many different sorts of businesses which used contracts and of the legal issues the Supreme Court ruled on for each sort of contract. The chapter concludes by noting that California contract law was in the American mainstream.

Unfortunately Bakken rarely ventures from this sort of descriptive analysis to a more revealing look at the relationships between civil law and society. If Bakken had presented a more explicit thesis about the role of civil law in California and used the examination of different



sorts of civil law as evidence for that hypothesis, this book would have been much more exciting. He might, for example, have organized his research to explore whether frontier law was innovative or conservative. The failure to pass beyond description is especially evident in the book's Conclusion, which consists of observations such as: "The Supreme Court did not produce a record of consistent principled decision making. Rather it issued decisions that followed general principles and decisions that confounded precedents and principles."

Stephen J. Field (1816-1899), one of California's greatest jurists, while a member of the State Assembly sponsored the California Practice Act of 1851. A specialist in mining law and land grant titles, he served as associate justice (1857-1859) and chief justice (1859-1863) on the California State Supreme Court prior to his appointment as the first Californian as an associate justice (1863-1897) of the U.S. Supreme Court. CHS Collections.

Bakken's reliance on Supreme Court records may have hindered him in pushing the analysis further. Appellate decisions are not necessarily the best source

for understanding the roles of lawyers, courts, and law. Lower court records may provide richer insights into the role of law in a society.

It should be noted in passing that Bakken is poorly served by his publisher, Greenwood Press. The book's small, closely-spaced type is excruciatingly difficult to read. Greenwood has crammed about 4000 characters and spaces on the typical page of *Development*, compared to the 3000 found on the pages of more conventional academic books.

Based on extensive research, *Development* would have benefitted from a more rigorous conceptualization which would have taken it beyond the largely descriptive. □

The Owensmouth Baby: The Making of a San Fernando Valley Town.

By Catherine Mulholland. (Northridge: Santa Susana Press, 1987. 193 pp. \$40.00 paper.)

Reviewed by William Kahrl, associate editor, McClatchy Newspapers Inc. and author of Water and Power.

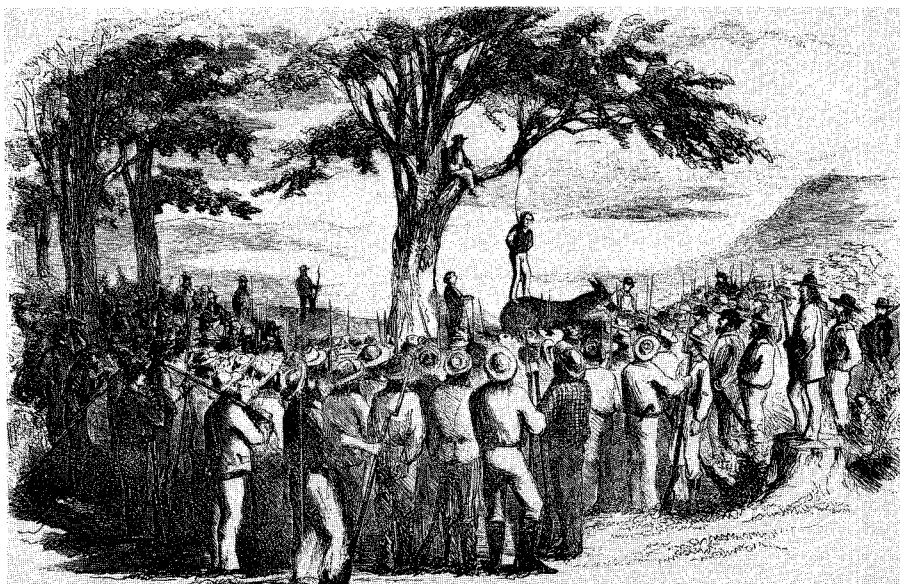
These days, when even the simplest proposals for municipal incorporation, annexation, or a new suburban subdivision tend to spark furious debate, it is easy to forget that California was once populated with a whole generation of experienced city builders. These were the men who learned their craft with the railroads in the late nineteenth century, dotting the landscape with hamlets and town sites as they knit up the unsettled West with new lines of track.

For a man like Hobart Johnstone Whitley, who once claimed to have started a hundred towns in the Dakota and Oklahoma territories during his service to the railroad land agencies, all it

took to launch a new community was "a heap of bricks and a pile of lumber" on the bare ground. People would always come, for there was money to be made in that kind of enterprise.

In *The Owensmouth Baby* Catherine Mulholland recounts how Whitley and his associates in the Los Angeles Suburban Homes Company set about inventing the modern San Fernando Valley communities of Van Nuys, Conoga Park, Reseda, Sherman Oaks, Tarzana, and Woodland Hills. It's a fairly humdrum story of commercial adventure—full of the kind of back-stabbing and hand-wringing that's to be expected where large investments are involved. Whitley's partners turn out to have been neither very nice nor far sighted. Whitley's vision itself seems to have been limited to a sense of orderliness and a distaste for dishonest advertising, which made him something of a scold. While his associates never lost sight of their *amours propres* at the bottom of their balance sheets, however, Whitley was looking for glory, the recognition that he believed belonged to those who worked for Progress. And so, while his associates added to their already vast personal fortunes and moved on to other ventures, it comes as no great surprise that Whitley was rewarded for his labors with bad debts, insanity, obscurity, and a legacy for his descendants of litigation aimed at salvaging something from his tangled finances and failed hopes.

There is a great story to be told here, but it needs to be set against the larger context within which these events transpired. How did Los Angeles officials, for example, respond to the problems involved in such an instantaneous expansion of their domain? What impact did the introduction of so much fertile agricultural land have upon the rest of California's farm economy? How did the rapid conversion of these lands in the San Fernando Valley from farms to suburbs upset the city's own plans for the new water supply from the Owens Valley that made it all possible?



Mulholland unfortunately isn't interested in these issues. She refuses even to address the older conundrum of how much Whitley's syndicate benefitted from the city's plans for the Owens Valley aqueduct—though that question clearly rankles, as well it must have all her life, growing up as the granddaughter of William Mulholland, who built the aqueduct in the first place. What she offers instead is a work of rigidly local and principally nostalgic interest, a memoir by a lady now in her sixties, who remembers fondly what the valley was like when there wasn't much more out there than a heap of bricks and a pile of lumber. □

Badge and Buckshot: Lawlessness in Old California.

By John Boessenecker. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988. 333 pp. \$22.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Gordon Morris Bakken, Professor of History at California State University, Fullerton and author of *The Development of Law in Frontier California, 1850–1890.*

Justice was swift in California during and long after the gold rush era as vividly illustrated in this magazine illustration.
CHS Collections.

This is a collection of twelve narrative essays about lawmen, outlaws, and lynchings in California. The essays are very detailed accounts of specific episodes or the careers of law enforcers or law breakers. Many of the tales are bigger than life. For example, the author tells us that famous six-gun sheriff Ben K. Thorn saddled up in January 1859 and rode to Mariposa County, Colorado, in two days to shoot down an outlaw (p. 66). Students of geography may find the feat beyond belief on at least two counts: distance and time, or merely the location of Mariposa County in Colorado. Regardless of hyperbole, these essays are well-written testaments to the bravery of California's lawmen and the depravity of the enemy deviants who preyed upon society.

Scholars looking for social science analysis, critical legal studies observations, deconstructionist inquiry, or thick description will have to look elsewhere. The author makes it clear at the outset that this book is not a sociological study of crime. The author uses his training at Hastings Law School to describe events carefully, but not to connect the narrative



of criminal justice administration with the failures of judges, the role of appellate courts, or the causes of crime. This is unfortunate because all of these elements may be found in the narrative and the use of narrative may lead some readers to the conclusion that the practicing bar still sees legal history as narrative and static. For legal historians, this book provides data for analysis and for all, entertaining narrative episodes of frontier life. □

Workers and Dissent in the Redwood Empire.

By Daniel A. Cornford. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987. 276 pp. \$29.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by H. Brett Melendy, Professor of History at San Jose State University and author of Asians in America, Chinese and Japanese Americans, "One Hundred Years of the Redwood Lumber Industry, 1850–1950,"

and Governors of California (co-author).

Cornford has written about a California region which remained isolated until after World War I when the railroad and the Redwood Highway replaced the Eureka to San Francisco steamer run. California historians have paid scant attention to the Redwood Empire's three northeastern counties of Mendocino, Humboldt and Del Norte. Cornford has focused only upon Humboldt County from the 1870s through World War I.

His history adds enormously to the historical fabric of the area, going far beyond the seminal work of Owen C. Coy, *The Humboldt Bay Region, 1850–1875* (1929). Coy, trained in a nineteenth-century tradition, traced local political institutions. Cornford follows with great care the several threads of social and political dissent in Humboldt County. Economically, Humboldt County was divided between the redwood lumber industry and agriculture, mostly dairying, which flourished in the Eel and Mad River valleys' rich bottom lands.

From 1875 to the end of the century,

John Vance's logging train, Mad River, Humboldt County. CHS Collections.

Humboldt County saw union organizations and political affiliations form and then fall by the wayside. The historical record of such groups are frequently non-existent as are the biographies of the movements' leaders. It is to Cornford's credit that he ably traced the intricacies of these various movements. He has utilized lumber company records and scoured newspaper files.

This is a history of dissent in Humboldt County growing out of unrest among redwood mills and woods, workers and farmers. Labor and political organizations seem to have continually washed upon Humboldt County shores. As movements came and went—leaders moved from one organization to the next. One of the first successful undertakings resulted from the impact of San Francisco's Workingmen's Party on Humboldt County. The local party elected delegates to the 1878 Constitutional Convention. An organization that drew its strength from county agriculturalists in the early 1880s was the



Greenback Party. Ten years later, Populism gained a foothold as county farmers formed alliances, but this movement too soon died away.

At the same time, the International Workingmen's Association began recruiting workers to protest the growing lumber monopoly. Out of this beginning came the Knights of Labor who were effective politically on the local level for a short time. One difficulty that these labor organizers encountered was the paternalism of the local mill owners, many of whom had an interest in the welfare of their workers as well as their own pocketbooks, which effectively restrained most union activities for several years.

Absentee owners dominated the twentieth-century lumber industry which helped the union movement. Fol-

lowing a major strike in 1907, these corporations utilized a new paternalism, or welfare capitalism, in their company towns of Korbel, Samoa and Scotia.

In a postscript Cornford summarizes the labor history after World War I, passing over the critical confrontation in Eureka in 1935 and the impact of World War II industries upon the labor movement which fostered the lengthy lumber strikes of 1946-1948.

Cornford's study makes a major contribution to the history of Humboldt County and its many social and political undercurrents. What needs to be more clearly stated is just how effective the political leaders were in office and why Republicans and Democrats kept returning to power in the face of these movements. □

Robert Brownlee of Sunny Side Farm, Napa County, and his family: (standing left to right) Margaret Russell, Robert A., George Lamont, Mary Jane, and Frederick James; (seated left to right) Annie Lamont (wife), Robert, and Grace Annie. CHS Collections.

An American Odyssey: The Autobiography of a 19th-Century Scotsman, Robert Brownlee, At the Request of His Children. Napa County, California, October 1892.

Edited by Patricia A. Etter. (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1986. 237 pp. \$23.00 cloth; \$12.00 paper.)

Reviewed by Kenneth N. Owens, Professor of History and Director of the Capital Campus Public History Program, California State University, Sacramento.

As he was concluding this reminiscent account of his life and adventures, Robert Brownlee set down his claim upon the good regard of his posterity. He wanted to be remembered as "one who never owed but if justly due, paid it immediately." He never had been party to a law suit nor to a quarrel which occasioned blows, Brownlee declared, and "was always able to take my own part." Scots to the core, this upright, honest fellow at age 80 toiled with pen and ink to give his children and grandchildren a permanent record of the adventures of his youth, emphasizing particularly his experiences as a '49er during the California gold rush. A careful observer, with his eye for detail undimmed by time, Brownlee set down his life story plainly and vividly. We are fortunate now to have his memoir carefully prepared for publication by Patricia Etter, an experienced scholar and a distant descendant of this roving boy from the Scottish lowlands.

Brownlee sailed from Scotland in 1836, at age twenty-three, arrived in New York, then followed his trade as a stone mason first by helping construct North Carolina's capitol building, next by taking a similar job in the frontier state of Arkansas. When the construction boom subsided in Little Rock, he tried farming for a while, and in 1848 made a brief effort at lead mining until a mine explosion nearly took his life. He was still recuperating from his injuries at Christmastime when he learned of the recent California gold discoveries. Immediately Brownlee determined to leave for California as soon as he was well enough. In March of 1849 he joined a party known as the Little Rock and California Mining Association, which travelled from Fort Smith along the Southern Trail through the Indian Territory, New Mexico, and

Arizona, reached the Yuma River in late July, and made the summertime desert crossing to Warner's Ranch without great hardship.

Once in California, Brownlee established himself at the southern Mother Lode camp of Agua Fria, where he and his partners ran a store by day and a gambling hall by night, both in the same quarters. It is his description of life and times at Agua Fria during the mining boom that has greatest general interest, for Brownlee provides us with a series of social vignettes that flesh out our knowledge of that extraordinary time and place. In 1850, he claims, California possessed in proportion to population "more intelligence, more industry and law abiding principles than any other portion of the world." The reason, Brownlee continues, is that in 1849 "none but the better class of citizens could manage to raise funds to get here — the wealthy man or the preacher's son." This idyll ended, so Brownlee recalled, when Australian convicts and "the Evil world from the East" began to arrive. Yet he also declares that even in 1850 among the gambling crowd "pretty much everybody had his Colts revolver of the large size in his belt or sash," another powerful reason for good conduct.

Brownlee's account concludes with a brief narrative of his later life, which included a trip back to Arkansas to claim a bride, a sentimental return visit with his family in Scotland, and forty years of settled success as a farmer in the Napa Valley, an occupation he began "without the least knowledge of managing, or how it should be done." Through all his recital, the author displays the same good sense and decent sensibilities that marked his gold rush adventures, coupled obviously with a native Scots' regard for turning an honest dollar. As revealed in his own words, Robert Brownlee epitomizes that type of sturdy, enterprising person who, after the gold rush excitement had begun to subside, built California's new society on a bed-

rock of granite.

With a minimum of fuss, Patricia Etter has done an excellent job in bringing to print her ancestor's words. Her research is exceptionally thorough, her scholarship unobtrusive, and she can give a confident assurance that at age eighty Brownlee retained an accurate memory of his adventurous years. Her own enterprise, moreover, has been served well by the University of Arkansas Press, which has done a commendable job of publishing. Not simply another account of overland travel, *An American Odyssey* places an interesting and admirable character into the historical literature related to California's gold rush era. □

Voices of a Place: Social and Literary Essays from the Other California.

By Gerald Haslam. (Walnut Creek: Devil Mountain Books, 1987. 100 pp. \$7.95 paper.)

Reviewed by James N. Gregory, Assistant Professor of History, University of California, Berkeley, and author of *American Exodus: The Dust Bowl Migration and the Making of California's Okie Subculture*.

Ninety years ago, California's Central Valley was just that. Central to the geography, it was also central to the economy and held its own in population, politics, and in the imagination of Californians. Frank Norris' saga of wheat and railroads, *The Octopus*, caught the valley in its years of triumph.

Since then the region has slipped badly in the estimation of most Californians. For coastal urbanites who care little about the land that produces their fruits and vegetables, it is the state's null zone, a dull, overheated landscape about an hour wide which slows passage to the holy Sierra.

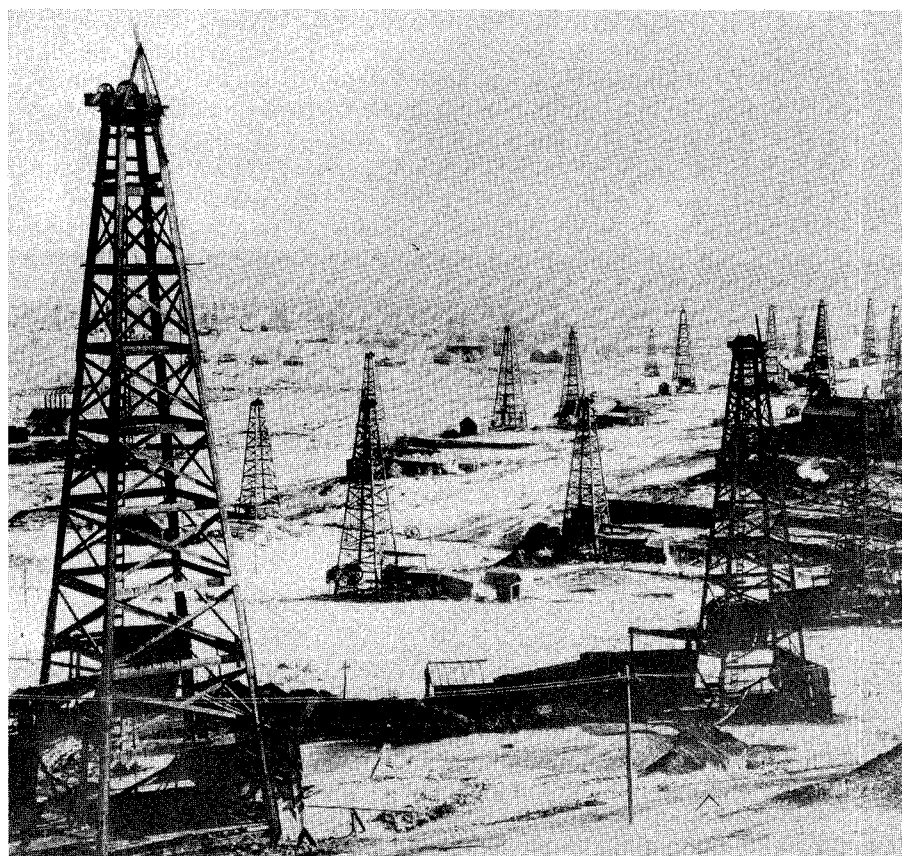
That is not the way Gerald Haslam

sees the valley. For most of two decades now, he has helped lead a reclamation effort, a small but dogged literary movement of writers and poets who celebrate what he calls "the Other California." An English professor at Sonoma State University, Haslam is best known for his short stories, mostly colorful Faulkneresque tales of the valley's characters and common folk. But nonfiction has also attracted him, and the present volume, *Voices of a Place*, collects ten essays that have appeared in local and national publications over the last dozen years.

Predictably, they are a mixed bag: two are thought pieces on California regionalism, another sorts through the Danny Santiago/Dan James authorship controversy, the rest explore the subject that Haslam knows and likes best, the tough and gritty valley plain folk. To Haslam that means Okies and Chicanos, two groups that mingle in his bloodstream even as they contest the landscape.

The best of the essays take Haslam back to the subculture of his youth. In "The Okies: Forty Years Later" (1975), he picks up the pieces of the Dust Bowl migration that John Steinbeck and Dorothea Lange chronicled a half-century ago. Okies, he tells us have become "state legislators and used-car salesmen, waitresses and college professors...convicts, guards, country music impresarios, construction workers and contractors, farm laborers and winos...in a word, Californians" (p. 26). But particular Californians nevertheless. The experience of hardship and their rural origins have left marks. Okies today, he says, are tough minded and two fisted. Conservative politically, they believe in the work ethic, family values, and country music. Inclined toward racial intolerance, their chief characteristic is an "ability to accept adversity with grace and grit" (p. 33).

He follows up some of these themes in "Workin' Man's Blues" (1977) and "Oildale" (1987) as he takes us on separate tours of Bakersfield and the nearby oil town that he once called home. There



One of the early oil field developments near Bakersfield captured in this 1920s photograph. CHS Collections.

we meet the country music industry which was one of the by-products of the Dust Bowl migration and see also the underside of the Okie experience: continued poverty in some instances, lingering racism in still more. The issue of racism pains him greatly. Haslam wants to celebrate the Okie subculture. He loves its toughness, its proletarian directness, and is deeply defensive of its reputation, often sneering at the "thin-wristed experts," white-wine drinkers, and "therapists" who purport to understand redneck racism. It leaves him of two minds. He reaches frequently for signs of inter-ethnic understanding, telling stories of whites who learned to accept blacks and drawing from his own family background the possibility of intermarriage between Okies and Chicanos. The other mind is more realistic. In his "Oildale" piece as well as an article about Mexican farm workers in King City ("Breaking the Migrant Cycle") he acknowledges the racial prob-

lems that divide the "other California" probably even more than the rest of the state. Poverty, he says, is to blame. Chronically poor whites snatch a measure of self-respect in incantations of white pride.

None of this is fleshed out; these are brief impressionistic snapshots not detailed studies. Thus, there is much left unsaid, and some of the characterizations are too wide or too simple. One has to struggle to remember, for instance, that wealthy wine-drinkers also make their homes in the valley and that even some Oildale Okies grew up and became thin-wristed therapists. But especially for those Californians who know only the 70-mile-an-hour version of the Central Valley, here is a good introduction to their state's heartland. □

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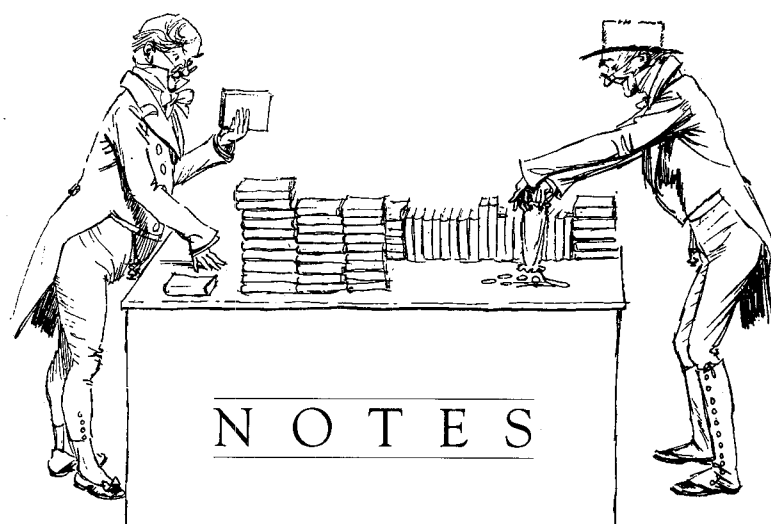
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203



Morgado, Junipero Serra's Grave, pp. 150-167

1. Maynard Geiger, *Palóu's Life of Fray Junipero Serra* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), p. 252. This is the primary account of Serra's death and burial, recounted in detail on pages 243-254. An excellent secondary account is available in *The Life and Times of Fray Junipero Serra, O.F.M.* by Maynard Geiger (2 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1959), 2:375-391.
2. Mission San Carlos Borromeo del Río Carmelo (Mission Carmel) had originally been founded as part of Monterey's military presidio/Indian mission on 3 June 1770. Serra severed the mission on 24 August 1771, and moved it to "the banks of the Carmel River and in view of the sea . . . a truly delightful spot, which, thanks to its plentiful supply both of land and water, gives promise of abundant harvests" (Antonine Tibesar, ed., *Writings of Junipero Serra* (4 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955-1966):4:259; and 1:171). The information on Mission Carmel's seven churches is from an unpublished manuscript by Maynard Geiger and Harry Downie, entitled *The History of the Development of the Buildings of*

Mission San Carlos, Carmel, California: 1771-1797, Mission Carmel Archives, Carmel.

3. Marie Pagliarulo, "The Restoration of Mission San Carlos Borromeo, Carmel, California: 1931-1967" (Master's Thesis, University of San Francisco, 1968), p. 12.
4. Maynard Geiger, "Where is Serra Buried?" *Provincial Annals*, 24 (April 1962):124.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. Francis Farquhar, ed., *Up and Down California in 1860-1864: The Journal of William H. Brewer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), pp. 106-107.
8. "Father Serra's Grave," *Academy Scrapbook*, 1 (October 1950): 102-103. The stole must have faded, for although it does have somewhat of a violet hue, it is predominantly brown.
9. R. E. White, *Padre Junipero Serra and the Mission Church of San Carlos del Carmelo* (San Francisco: R. E. White, 1884), p. 22.
10. Geiger, "Where is Serra Buried?" *Provincial Annals*, 24 (October 1962):231-232.
11. Photograph, Mission Carmel Archives, Carmel.
12. Eric O'Brien, *Padre Junipero Serra: Apostle, Legislator, Builder* (Santa Barbara: The Serra Shop, 1949), p. 25;

and Eric O'Brien to Harry Downie, letter, 19 March 1945, Mission Carmel Archives.

13. The information on Serra's 1943 exhumation is from "The Act of the 1943 Exhumation of the Servant of God Fray Junipero Serra," compiled by Eric O'Brien, Mission Carmel Archives, Carmel; and from "Where is Serra Buried?" a twelve-part article by Maynard Geiger in *Provincial Annals* (October 1960-April 1964), especially the following issues: 25 (April 1963):120-123; 25 (July 1963): 186-191; 25 (October 1963):250-255; 26 (January 1964):76-80; and 26 (April 1964):142-146.
14. Geiger, "Where is Serra Buried?" 25 (April 1963):122.
15. *Ibid.*, 25 (October 1963):253-254.
16. Geiger, *Palóu's Life of Fray Junipero Serra*, p. 235.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
18. Geiger, "Where is Serra Buried?" 26 (January 1964):77.
19. *Ibid.*, 26 (April 1964):143.
20. *Ibid.*, 26 (January 1964):77.
21. *Ibid.*, 25 (July 1963):189, 191.
22. *Ibid.*, 26 (January 1964):77.
23. Tomás Alvarez and Fernando Domingo, *Saint Teresa of Avila* (Burgos, Spain: Editorial Monte Carmelo, 1982), p. 122.
24. A "relic" is an object connected with a blessed or canonized saint, from

- the Latin *reliquiae* (remains). There are three classes: 1) first class—a saint's body, or a penitential object used by a saint; 2) second class—anything a saint used during his/her life, e.g., clothing; 3) third class—any object that has been touched to a first-class relic, e.g., a piece of cloth touched to a saint's grave.
25. Maynard Geiger, "Beatification of Fray Junípero Serra," in Francis Weber, ed., *Some Catholic Reminiscences for the United States Bicentennial* (Los Angeles: California Catholic Conference, 1976), p. 133.
 26. "President Visits Carmel Mission," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 27 August 1956, p. 1; "Kennedy Denies Charges by Morse," *ibid.*, 30 May 1960, p. 1; and "Visit From the First Lady," *Central California Register*, 29 September 1966, p. 12.
 27. The full title is *Montereyen. seu Fresnen. Beatificationis et Canonizationis Servi Dei Iuniperi Serra, sacerdotis professi O.F.M. (1784). Positio super vita et virtutibus ex officio concinnata*, compiled by Jacinto Fernández, O.F.M., Ph.D. (Vatican City: Vatican Polyglot Press, 1981).
 28. *Montereyen. seu Fresnen. Beatificationis et Canonizationis Servi Dei Iuniperi Serra, sacerdotis professi O.F.M. (1784). Relatio et vota sulla seduta dei Consultori dell' Ufficio Storico* (Vatican City: Vatican Polyglot Press, 1983), p. 9.
 29. Timothy Cardinal Manning, Homily, 28 August 1984, videotape transcript, Mission Carmel Archives.
 30. President Ronald Reagan to Most Rev. Thaddeus Shubsda, telegram, 19 August 1985, Mission Carmel Archives.
 31. "Decretum. Montereyen. in California. Canonizationis Servi Dei Iuniperi Serra, sacerdotis professi, Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, 9 May 1985," Mission Carmel Archives.
 32. Sr. Mary Boniface Dyrda to Martin Morgado, letters, 28 September 1987 and 25 February 1988, Mission Carmel Archives; and biographical information supplied by Sr. Mary Boniface, also in Mission Carmel Archives.
 33. "Decretum. Montereyen. in California. Canonizationis Ven. Servi Dei Iuniperi Serra, sacerdotis professi, Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, 11 December 1987," Mission Carmel Archives.
 34. "A Visit to Carmel Mission," *Origins: National Catholic Documentary Service*, 17 (15 October 1987):311.
 35. "Instruction of the Sacred Congregation for the Causes of Saints, dated 20 July 1987," p. 1, Mission Carmel Archives.
 36. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
 37. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
 38. "13 October 1987 Serra Exhumation," Transcript, Mission Carmel Archives.
 39. "Decretum. Montereyen. in California. Canonizationis Ven. Servi Dei Iuniperi Serra, sacerdotis professi, Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, 11 December 1987," Mission Carmel Archives.
 40. *Ibid.*
 41. "Unfading will be his memory" (Sirach 39:9), a Biblical quote used by Palóu to predict Serra's fame. Geiger, *Palóu's Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, p. 257.
- Beesley, Chinese Americans, pp. 168-179**
1. *Population Schedules of the 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th, and 13th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*; Patrick Tinloy, "Nevada County's Chinese, Part 1," *Nevada County Historical Society Bulletin*, 25 (January 1971): 5; Robert and Grace Slyter, "Historical Notes of the Early Washington, Nevada County, California Mining District," unpublished typescript, no date, photographs between pp. 6-7.
 2. Some representative studies of the Chinese community in the United States include: Gunter Barth, *Bitter Strength* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), p. 111; David R. Chan, "The Tragedy and Trauma of the Chinese Exclusion Laws: *The Life, Influence and the Role of the Chinese in the United States, 1850-1870*" (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society, 1976), pp. 193-306; Jack Chen, *The Chinese of America* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1980), pp. 29, 59-64, 146-153, 176-184; Rose Hum Lee, *The Chinese in the United States of America* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), pp. 63-64, 77, 162; Victor and Brett de Bary Nee, *Long Time Californ'* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1974), pp. 52-55, 69.
 3. For some of the newer studies of the Chinese community which focus on its women, see: Marion Goldman, *Gold Diggers and Silver Miners* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981), p. 69; Lucie Cheng Hirata, "Free, Indentured, Enslaved: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth Century America," *Signs*, 5 (Autumn 1979): 3-29; Ruth Ann Lum McCunn, *Thousand Pieces of Gold* (San Francisco: Design Enterprises, 1981), pp. 26-208; and Judy Young, *Chinese Women of America*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986), pp. 18-23.
 4. The figure of four hundred is a conservative estimate based on manuscript census information for 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900, and 1910. The total number of females enumerated for those years was 337. The data for 1850, 1890, and 1920 is not available, but would surely have pushed the figure over 400. *Population Schedules of the 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th, and 13th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*.
 5. Stanford M. Lyman, "The Structure of Chinese Society in Nineteenth Century America" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1961), pp. 329-333; Stanford Lyman, "Marriage and Family Among Chinese Immigrants to America, 1850-1860," *Phylon*, n.v. (Winter 1968): 322-324; Thomas Deeb, "A History of Two Chinatowns in Grass Valley and Nevada City" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, San Francisco State College, 1972), pp. 103-124; *Bulletin of the Chinese Historical Society of America*, XXII (November 1987): *Population Schedules of the 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th and 13th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*; and S.W. Kung in his *Chinese in American Life* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962), p. 33, says women averaged about 5% of the Chinese population

- between 1860 and 1910.
6. Ralph Mann, *After The Gold Rush: Society in Grass Valley and Nevada City, California, 1849-1870* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982), pp. 9-34, 71-85, 195-218; Joanne Meschery, *Truckee* (Truckee: Rocking Stone Press, 1978), pp. 43-50, 69-75; and Thomas W. Chinn, ed., *A History of the Chinese In California* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1975), pp. 1-81.
 7. David Beesley, "Our Chinese Legacy: The Chinese In the Sierra Nevada," *Sierra Heritage*, 7 (June 1987): 32-33; Deeble, "A History of Two Chinatowns . . .," pp. 103-124.
 8. *Population Schedules of the 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th, and 13th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*.
 9. *Population Schedule of the 10th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*.
 10. *Population Schedules of the 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th, and 13th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*; Goldman, *Gold Diggers*, p. 69; Hirata, "Free, Indentured, Enslaved," pp. 3-29; McCunn, *Thousand Pieces of Gold*, pp. 26-208; and Young, *Chinese Women*, pp. 18-23.
 11. Nevada (City) *Journal*, September 7, 1860, October 4, 1861; *People vs. Henry Searls*, 1862, Searls Historical Library, Nevada City, Cab. 6-138; Nevada (City) *Daily Gazette*, December 24, 25, 1867; Nevada County Coroner's Inquest, December 24, 1867, Searls Historical Library, Cab. 6-430; Nevada County Coroner's Inquest, February 17, 1871, Searls Historical Library, Cab. 6-603; and Nevada (City) *Daily Transcript*, August 6, 1873.
 12. Nevada (City) *Journal*, January 18, 1861.
 13. *Ibid.*
 14. *Ibid.*, September 13, 1861.
 15. Thomas H. Thompson and Albert A. West, *History of Nevada County California* (Oakland: Thompson and West, 1880; reprinted 1970 by Howell-North Books), p. 76. Deeble, "A History of Two Chinatowns . . .," pp. 107-108.
 16. Nevada County Grand Jury Hearing, August 9, 1876. Searls Historical Library, Cab. 6-471.
 17. Hirata, "Free, Indentured, Enslaved," pp. 3-29.
 18. *Ibid.*
 19. Albert Dressler, *California Chinese Chatter* (Sacramento: News Publishing Co., 1927), pp. 21-23.
 20. *Ibid.*
 21. *13th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*. Deeble, "A History of Two Chinatowns . . .," pp. 109-112.
 22. The marriage certificates or references to them can be found in the Searls Historical Library, Drawer 6, and in David Comstock, *Nevada County Vital Statistics, June 1850 to June 1859* (Grass Valley: Comstock Bonanza Press, 1986), pp. 1-20. The marriages occurred between 1856 and 1885. The record of Ah Sam and Ah How is referred to in Searls Historical Library, LWN 2, p. 282.
 23. Deeble, "A History of Two Chinatowns . . .," pp. 103-124.
 24. *Population Schedules of the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 12th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*.
 25. *Population Schedule of the 9th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*.
 26. *Population Schedule of the 10th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*.
 27. *Population Schedule of the 12th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*.
 28. *Ibid.*
 29. *Ibid.*
 30. *Population Schedule of the 13th Census of the United States, Nevada County, California*.
 31. *Ibid.*, and Howard Ah-Iye, "The Saga of an Early Pioneer," *Bulletin of the Chinese Historical Society of America*, (October 1985): 2-5.
 32. Interview with Bob Paine, Nevada City, April 17, 1986.
 33. *Grass Valley Daily Union*, September 29, 1883.
 34. Theresa Sparks, *China Gold* (Fresno: Academy Library Guild, 1954), pp. 14-30, 64, 97-119.
 35. Patrick Tinloy, "Nevada County's Chinese, In Two Parts," *Nevada County Historical Society Bulletin*, 25 (January 1971): 1-8; 25 (April 1971): 1-10.
 36. *Ibid.*, 25 (April 1971): 9.
 37. Petition for recognition of citizenship for Lee Gum Sing, Searls Historical Library, Dr. 7 S10, November 2, 1907.
 38. Nevada City *Daily Gazette*, August 2, 1865; Deeble, "A History of Two Chinatowns . . .," pp. 115-116; Interview with Harold McCullough, May 17, 1987; and Sparks, *China Gold*, pp. 14-120.
 39. Interview with Ida Mock, March 24, 1988.
 40. Interview with Bob Paine, March 23, 1988.
 41. Sparks, *China Gold*, pp. 14-120; Victor G. and Brett de Bary Nee, *Longtime Californ' (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1974)*, pp. 110-111; and Interview with Ida Mock, March 24, 1988.

Katz, Noel & "Sister Movements," pp. 180-189

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1. Letter to Ed Heim, October 5, 1948, in collection of Frances Noel materials held privately by historian Knox Mellon (hereinafter Mellon Collection, MC).
2. The debate focuses around how "successful" cross-class alliances among women were. Several measuring sticks are utilized: the number of women who were unionized by the groups, the degree to which power was shared by both classes of women with the organizations, or the quality of legislation passed with the assistance of these alliances. For the most positive assessment see James Kenneally, for the most negative see Meredith Tax. Works on the

- Women's Trade Union League, the most well-studied cross-class alliance of the early twentieth century, include: Nancy Schrom Dye, *As Equals and As Sisters: Feminism, the Labor Movement, and the Women's Trade Union League of New York* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1980); "Creating a Feminist Alliance: Sisterhood and Class Conflict in the New York Women's Trade Union League, 1903-1914," in Milton Cantor and Bruce Laurie, eds., *Class, Sex and the Woman Worker* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977); and "Feminism or Unionism? The New York Women's Trade Union League and the Labor Movement," *Feminist Studies*, 3 (Fall 1975); James J. Kennelly, *Women in American Trade Unions* (St. Albans, VT: Eden Women's Press Publications, Inc., 1978); Robin Miller Jacoby, "The Women's Trade Union League and American Feminism," *Feminist Studies*, 3 (Fall 1975); Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Meredith Tax, *The Rising of the Women: Feminist Solidarity and Class Conflict, 1880-1917* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980).
3. Discussed in this article are Noel's involvements in the Wage Earner's Suffrage League, the Women's Trade Union League, the Socialist party, two Los Angeles women's clubs, the Women's Conference of Los Angeles County, and several investigative bodies. The secondary source literature for a study of this type is now quite rich. Most important however, are Noel's own papers, including letters, newspaper articles and speeches, located in two collections, one deposited in the Special Collections Department, University Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles (hereinafter FNP) and the other held privately by historian Knox Mellon, the biographer of Los Angeles Socialist Job Harri-man (MC). Additionally, two labor and left-leaning local newspapers, the *Los Angeles Citizen* and the *Los Angeles Record*, provided articles by
 - and about Noel and helped to place her work and ideas in context. The Los Angeles City Archives contains scattered material on Noel's many civic activities.
 4. Noel's early life is drawn from a taped interview with her conducted by Irving Bernstein in 1952 and located in the University Research Library, UCLA (FNT), and from several documents in the Mellon Collection (MC): letter to Mrs. Hauser, December 18, 1912; "German Home Life," by Noel's son Francis, 1911; a handwritten obituary for P.D. Noel by Frances, 1943; interviews with Francis and Jean Noel conducted by Knox Mellon on August 28, 1967 and January 22, 1977. Noel's birth date appears on her death certificate issued by the Los Angeles County Recorder, MC.
 5. The work of Clara Zetkin and August Bebel impressed Noel very much. The German socialist strategy, based upon the development of a close alliance between the labor movement and the socialists, seemed logical to Noel and would become the working model for her and for the socialist movement in Los Angeles. For Bebel and Zetkin's place in the socialist movement and their contributions to theory on the "Woman Question," see Mari Jo Buhle, *Women and American Socialism, 1870-1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), pp. 26-29, 183-184. For Noel's impression of the German socialists, see the FNT and a diary of her trip to Europe, May to August 1902, MC.
 6. On marriage, see letter to Mrs. Hauser, December 12, 1912, MC. While Noel remained a labor activist throughout the 1920s, in the late '20s and '30s she devoted most of her energies to the birth control movement. In the 1940s, '50s and '60s she fought for environmental protection. Noel remained politically active up to her death in 1963. This information is drawn from the FNT and a guide to the FNP.
 7. Undated leaflet for the Women's Conference of Los Angeles County, Box 4, Folder 12, FNP.
 8. *Citizen*, January 10, 1911 and February 3, 1911; "The Women's Conference of Los Angeles County: Its Aim and Object," Box 4, Folder 12, FNP.
 9. Letter to Leona Banta, President of the California branch of the Women's International Union Label League, 1910, Box 11, Folder 5, FNP; Agnes Downing, "Women Suffrage in California," *Progressive Woman*, (5 September 1911): 1; Buhle, *Women and Socialism*, p. 230; Bruce Dancis, "Socialism and Women in the United States, 1900-1917," *Socialist Revolution*, 6 (January-March 1976): 120-121.
 10. Letter to E. (Ethyl Duppy Turner), October 19, 1911, MC; Downing, "Suffrage in California," p. 1; *Citizen*, June 2 and June 30, 1911, FNT.
 11. Letter to Leona Banta, undated, Box 11, Folder 6, FNP; Jacoby, "American Feminism," pp. 133-134; Tax, *Rising*, p. 171.
 12. Noel, "A Word to Socialist Voters," *Citizen*, September 1, 1911. For the extensive and complex suffrage activities of Los Angeles socialist women, see Downing, "Suffrage in California," p. 1. For WESL cooperation with middle class feminists during the suffrage campaign, see Buhle, *Women and Socialism*, p. 230; Dancis, "Socialism and Women," pp. 120-121. For Noel's lasting allegiance to NAWSA, see her correspondence with Anna Howard Shaw, president of NAWSA, undated, Box 10, Folders 8-9 and Box 11, Folder 8, FNP. For conflicts within the national Socialist party over working with middle class feminists see Tax, *Rising*, pp. 171, 188-194.
 13. WESL leaflets, undated, Box 1, Folder 7, FNP; Noel, "Wage Earning Women and Equal Suffrage," *Citizen*, September 12, 1911; speech by Noel, Box 1, Folder 7, FNP.
 14. WESL leaflet, undated, Box 1, Folder 7, FNP.
 15. Noel, "A Word to Socialist Voters," *Citizen*, September 1, 1911.
 16. Typed speech by Noel, Box 1, Folder 7, FNP, and Noel, "Wage Earning Women and Equal Suffrage," *Citizen*, September 12, 1911. For different interpretations of the meaning of these two types of suffrage arguments, see

- Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman's Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1971), pp. 31, 43-44, and 58 and Nancy F., "Feminist Theory and Feminist Movements: The Past Before Us," in Juliet Mitchell and Ann Oakley, eds., *What Is Feminism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), pp. 49-55. See also Ronald Schaffer, "The Problem of Consciousness in the Woman Suffrage Movement: A California Perspective," *Pacific Historical Review*, 45 (November 1976): 487.
17. The innovative tactics of the California suffrage movement included the use of billboard ads, electric signs, plays, and car caravans. See Flexnor, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 263-265; Buhle, *Women and Socialism*, p. 230. Towards the end of the drive, the *Citizen* published over a dozen articles supporting suffrage in a single issue. See Dancis, "Socialism and Women," p. 122; *Citizen*, August 4, 1911 and September 29, 1911. On Noel's activities, see the *Los Angeles Tribune*, October 29, 1911; *Los Angeles Times*, October 16, 1966 (an article on the 1911 campaign), referenced in Stephanie Landblom, "Woman on Horseback: Francis Nacke Noel," unpublished senior research paper, December 11, 1966, MC; photo collection, MC. On the "picnic," see "Suffrage Battle Hymn Swells in City Park," *Los Angeles Herald*, July 14, 1911. For the roots of the growing militance and tactical sophistication of the women suffrage movement, see Ellen Carol DuBois, "Working Women, Class Relations, and Suffrage Militance: Harriot Stanton Blatch and the New York Woman Suffrage Movement, 1894-1909," *Journal of American History*, 74 (June 1987): 47-58.
 18. Letter to E. (Ethyl Duppy Turner), October 19, 1911, MC.
 19. Letters from Alice Henry, December 13, 1912 and January 16, 1913; Box 10, Folders 5-6; letters to Henry, Box 11, Folder 7, FNP. For national WTUL proceedings, 1910-1914, see Box 3, Folders 3-4, FNP. Henry's histories of the WTUL can be found in Alice Henry, *The Trade Union Woman* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1915) and *Women and the Labor Movement* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1923).
 20. *Citizen*, April 17, 1914; letter to WTUL chapters, May 15, 1914; voter registration leaflet (identical to one used in 1912); "A Word to Men and Women," May 15, 1914, Box 3, Folder 10, FNP. WTUL meetings were covered in the *Citizen*, January 22 and March 15, 1915 and articles on the Unemployment Committee appeared in the March 15 and April 16, 1915 issues. Interestingly, the proposal for the Unemployment Committee mandated that half the committee members be women.
 21. Letter to officers and delegates to the National WTUL Convention, June 5, 1915, Box 11, Folder 8. Also see strike support leaflets, Box 3, Folder 10, FNP, many of which were translated into Spanish.
 22. Camp Aliso brochure, Box 3, Folder 13; see also cover letter for brochure, November 28, 1916, Box 3, Folder 13, FNP.
 23. Local WTUL minutes, June 1916, Box 3, Folder 10; letter to the national office from Gloria W. Carr, Box 3, Folder 11; Petition to the Los Angeles Playground Commission, May 3, 1917, Box 3, Folder 10, FNP.
 24. Noel, "Why Women Workers Should Organize," *Citizen*, September 3, 1915. Also see letter to officers and delegates of the National WTUL Convention, June 5, 1915, Box 11, Folder 8, FNP, and Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, p. 206.
 25. For relations to local labor, *Citizen* articles have already been noted above (see n. 20). See also letter from Noel to Minnie E. Warren, March 23, 1915, Box 11, Folder 8. For relations with the Friday Morning Club see article from *Citizen*, undated, Box 3, Folder 10, FNP.
 26. "Organized Labor in Los Angeles Will Assist Club in Important Probe," *Citizen*, May 12, 1913. See also *Citizen*, June 25, 1915 and July 2, 1915.
 27. *Citizen*, June 20, 1913 and September 18, 1914. See also *Los Angeles Record*, undated, Box 5, Folder 10, FNP.
 28. "Organized Labor in Los Angeles Will Assist Club in Important Probe," *Citizen*, May 12, 1913. The findings of the Commission were printed in the *Citizen*, June 20, 1913. See also *Citizen*, September 17, 1915; reports in Municipal Employment Bureau, Box 3, Folder 11, FNP; and report in Public Employment Bureau folder, 1918, Los Angeles City Archives.
 29. Letter from Edson to Governor Hiram Johnson, August 8, 1913, Katherine Philips Edson Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, Special Collections Department, University Research Library, UCLA. For Noel's activities on the Commission, see miscellaneous correspondence, position papers, etc., on social insurance issues located in Box 5, Folders 1-2 and Box 10, Folders 9-14, FNP; *Citizen*, October 1, 1915.
 30. Ralph E. Shaffer, *Radicalism in California, 1869-1929* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1962), pp. 15, 169. The fusionists are regarded by Shaffer as the less radical faction of the party. Their rivals, the "extremists", were revolutionary socialists who were less willing to merge with the labor movement, more committed to violent class struggle, and more enthusiastic about IWW style industrial unionism. For Shaffer, the fusionists were about as radical as the reform-minded progressives. See Shaffer, Chapter 8, for a detailed description of the differences summarized here. For Noel's candidacy, see *Citizen*, April 4 and July 25, 1913. For Los Angeles Labor Council endorsement, see *Citizen*, August 8, 1913. For platform, see *Citizen*, April 4, 1913. Noel discusses her candidacy in Estelle Lawton Lindsey, "City Council in Mrs. Frances Noel," *Record*, June 2, 1913. For Wheeler and Noel's joint activity on the unemployment issue, see *Citizen*, April 16, 1915.
 31. Noel, untitled WESL leaflet or speech, Box 1, Folder 7, FNP; Noel, "A Word to Socialist Voters," *Citizen*, September 1, 1911; Noel, "Twin Sister Movement of Union Labor," Offi-

- cial Yearbook of Organized Labor*, 1928, p. 81.
32. Noel, "A Word to Socialist Voters," *Citizen*, September 1, 1911.
33. Noel, "Twin Sister Movement of Union Labor," *Official Yearbook of Organized Labor*, 1928, p. 81.
34. There has been disagreement among historians about the exact meaning of progressivism. For a summary of the arguments, see Daniel Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," *Reviews in American History*, 10 (December 1982): 113-132. My definition comes from Mary Ann Mason Burki, "The California Progressives: Labor's Point of View," *Labor History*, 7 (Spring 1976): 25 and Michael Rogin and John L. Shover, *Political Change in California: Critical Elections and Social Movements, 1890-1966* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1970), pp. 54-55. For agreement on the nature of women's oppression, see Jacoby, "American Feminism," p. 128; Dye, "Feminist Alliance," pp. 227-228; Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, p. 202. For discussions of the transitional period in feminist thought about "woman's nature," see Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930," *Feminist Studies*, 5 (Fall 1979): 514-526; and Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. xiii-xxii. For an analysis of the paradoxes of modern feminism, see Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 3-10.
35. I am referring here to the support received by the WESL and WTUL from socialists and unionists as evidenced especially by the coverage of these two organizations in the *Citizen*.
36. Another issue which I can find very little information on is racism. In the FNP there are several newsclips from the *Citizen* which indicate that Noel and the Los Angeles labor movement were anti-Asian. It is also very evident that the Los Angeles WTUL attempted to support striking female Mexican-American workers. Noel was close to Mexican anarchists living in Los Angeles and a Mexican woman trade unionist lived with the Noels for a year in the early 1920s. See letters from J. W. Kelly and Consuelo Gonzalez, September 15 and 21, 1921, MC and miscellaneous documents in Box 3, Folder 10 and Box 6, Folder 9, FNP. More research needs to be conducted to see how the labor, socialist, and women's movements in Los Angeles dealt with the issue of racism.
37. For information on the weakness of labor in Los Angeles, see Grace Heilman Stimson, *Rise of the Labor Movement in Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955), pp. 333-335, 360, 423, 426. Dual socialist/trade union members include Fred Wheeler, Ralph Criswell, C.F. Crow, Frank Wolfe, and the Noels. See Job Harriman, "Never So Strong As We Are Now," *Citizen*, May 9, 1913. For the roots of the Los Angeles women's movement, see Jane E. Collier, "Early Club Life in Los Angeles," no date, Friday Morning Club Papers, Collection 100, Box 45, Special Collections Department, University Research Library, UCLA and Buhle, *Women and Socialism*, pp. 77-78.
38. For class differences in the WTUL see Tax, *Rising*, pp. 20-21, 108. For an opposing view that is closer to Noel's experience in Los Angeles, see Mary J. Bularzik, "The Bonds of Belonging: Leonora O'Reilly and Social Reform," *Labor History*, 24 (Winter 1983): 66-69 and Jacoby, "American Feminism," p. 229.
39. Buhle, *Women and Socialism*, pp. 204, 318; Kessler-Harris, *Out To Work*, pp. 206-212. Noel herself was suspended from the Socialist party in November 1914 for supporting Progressive party candidates. See *California Social-Democrat*, November 7, 1914.
40. On Noel's labor activities, see miscellaneous documents, Box 4, Folders 10-11, 13-16, 18-19 and Box 11, Folders 12-16, FNP. On her birth control endeavors, see Alma Whitaker, "Birth Curb Facts Told at Meeting," *Los Angeles Times*, April 25, 1927; Box 2, Folders 10, 11, 14, FNP. The exact class composition of the birth control movement in Los Angeles is impossible to determine, but it appears that it was not connected to the socialist or labor movements in the 1920s. The Mother's Clinic served poor women, but was probably dominated by middle class women. Linda Gordon claims that by 1920 birth control had become professionalized and had distanced itself from its original left wing base. See Linda Gordon, *Woman's Body, Woman's Right: A Social History of Birth Control in America* (New York: Penguin Books, 1977), pp. 297-300. Throughout the period of her life devoted to the birth control movement, Noel never swayed from the concept of women's liberation which she had articulated in the 1910s. Birth control was essential, Noel believed, in order to protect working class women from maternal death, marital unhappiness and the delinquency of unwanted children. While Noel stressed the necessity of poorer women to be able to limit the size of their families for economic and health reasons, she also suggested that birth control would allow women to have more control over their lives. She did not, however, wish to encourage a loosening of sexual mores and stressed birth control as an antidote to "ruined widowhood and motherhood." See Frances P. Noel, "One Viewpoint of Birth Control Movement," *The New American Woman* (n.p., n.d.), p. 8, Box 2, Folder 13 and miscellaneous documents, Box 2, Folder 10, FNP.
41. Noel, "Twin Sister Movement," p. 81.

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